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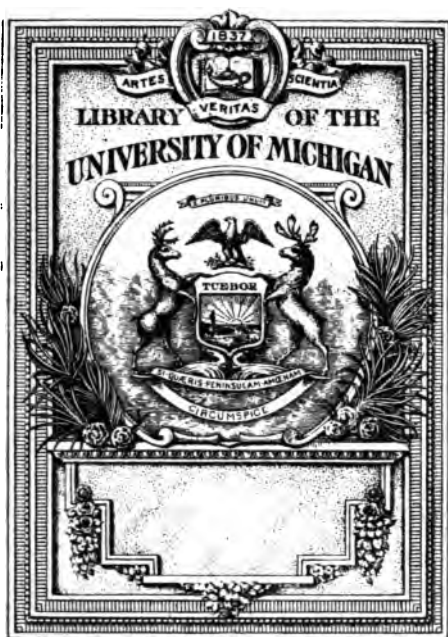
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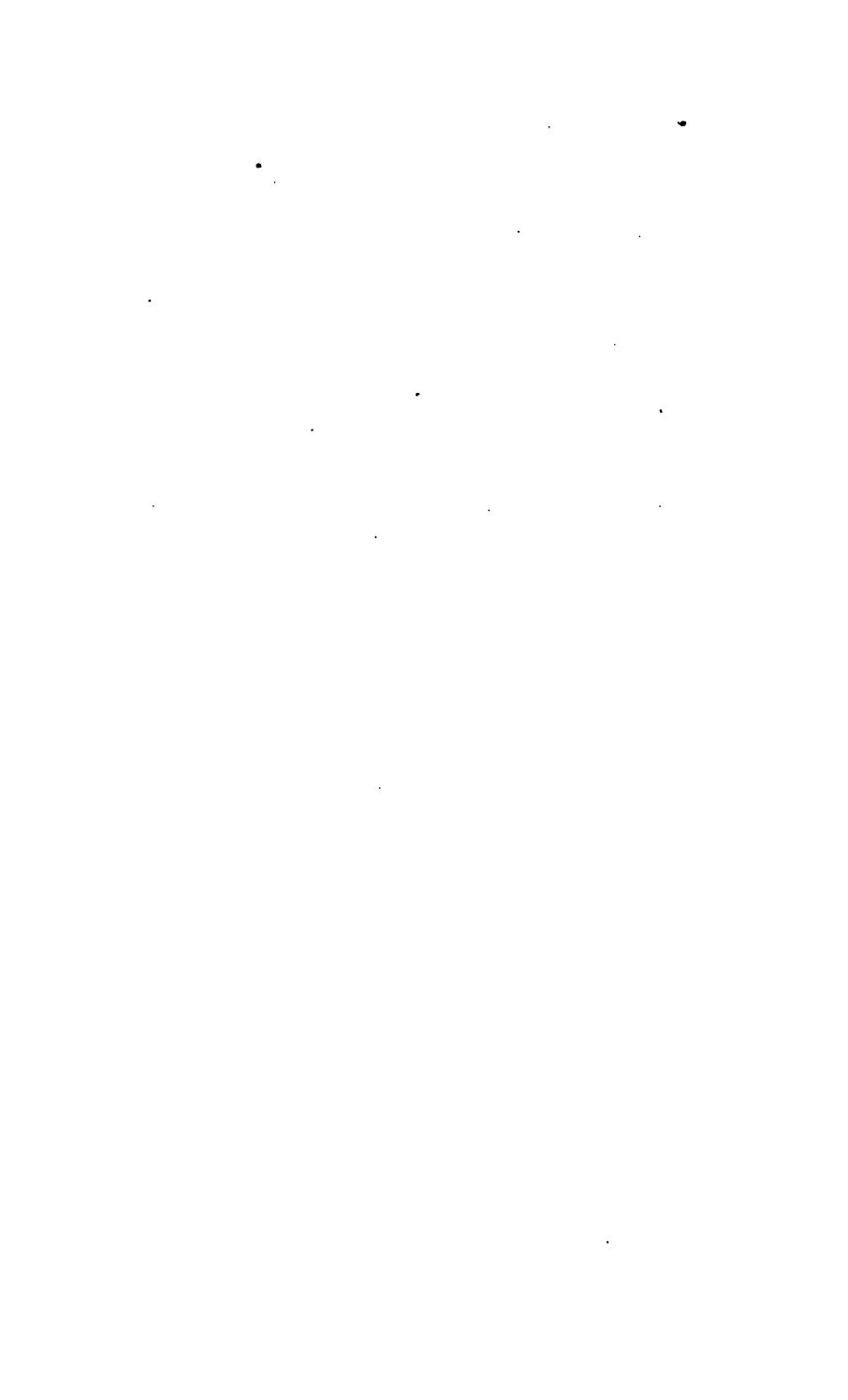


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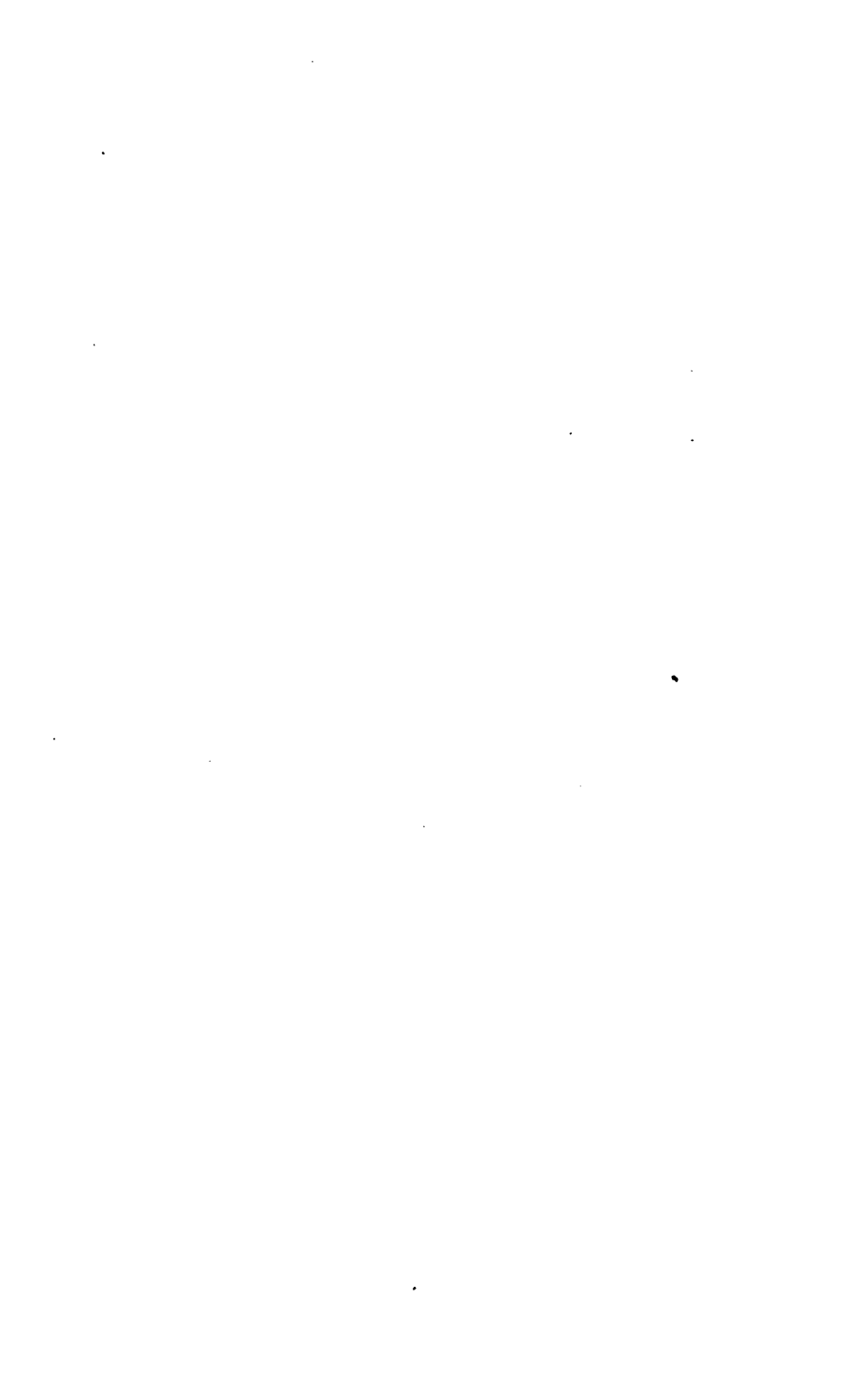
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THE CONQUERORS OF THE NEW
WORLD AND THEIR
BONDSMEN.

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THE CONQUERORS OF
THE NEW WORLD
AND THEIR BONDSMEN
137-151
BEING A NARRATIVE OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS
WHICH LED TO NEGRO SLAVERY IN
THE WEST INDIES AND
AMERICA



VOLUME THE FIRST

LONDON
WILLIAM PICKERING
1848





TO THE
REV. ROBERT PHELPS D.D.
MASTER OF SIDNEY SUSSEX COLLEGE
CAMBRIDGE.

MY DEAR FRIEND _____

CORRIGENDUM.

Page 233, line 8, *for* danger *read* damage.

tion, to make you take an interest in the
following work, even if your wonted re-

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TO THE
REV. ROBERT PHELPS D.D.
MASTER OF SIDNEY SUSSEX COLLEGE
CAMBRIDGE.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

BELIEVE it is a general complaint of authors that dedications and epistles dedicatory are very intolerable things to write; which I feel to be true, though in the present case it does not lessen in the least the pleasure I have in inscribing your name to this book, as a memorial of our long and uninterrupted friendship.

History being a favourite study of yours, you will need but little preface or explanation, to make you take an interest in the following work, even if your wonted re-

gard for the author were not sure to win your attention to anything which has been for some time the daily labour of his life. Still, in order that you may better understand the nature and aim of this narrative, I will tell you how I came to write it.

Wishing to submit to the "Friends in Council," whom you know of, certain essays on the subject of slavery, I had occasion to refer to some of the general works of history which treat, incidentally, of this matter. The more I read, the less satisfied I felt with the result of that reading, and the greater wish I experienced to make out something like the full and true story for myself.

To do that, it was necessary to refer to certain Spanish records which remain unpublished: these I was not only permitted to examine and to copy from, but also assisted in doing so, with a kindness and a frankness for which I feel grateful to the Historical Academy at Madrid, and its officers.

* I may mention that no one could have made much of these papers, unless with very long study, if the task of collecting and arranging them had not been undertaken by one so competent to it as the historian Muñoz, whose accuracy and research deserve the highest praise, and whose early death was a loss to European literature.

With regard to the general aim of the work, I can best explain that to you by showing the want which this narrative is intended to supply.

In considering the present condition of the West Indies or the southern States of America, it may occur even to a comparatively unobservant person, that these countries are largely peopled by a race not native to the soil: he hears of another race which in some parts has entirely passed away; and he sees a third which is and was dominant over both. He naturally

wishes to know the account of these things, thinking rightly, that study of the past furnishes the steadiest lights for deciphering the present; or, as the Spaniards have it, “ *De la relacion veridica del hecho, nace y tiene origen el derecho*” which, being somewhat liberally rendered, runs thus, The true version of the story gives the right view of the case.

What I aim at, then, in this narration, is to show such an enquirer how the black people came to the New World, how the brown people faded away from certain countries in it; and what part the white people had in these doings.

This is not an easy undertaking. You, as an artist, know how difficult it is from scattered objects, picturesque and interesting enough, perhaps, in themselves, but not so connected together as readily to fall into any harmonious grouping, to select those which shall fully represent the locality meant to be depicted, and yet not form an

unpleasing picture. You will, therefore, be indulgent to my attempt at a similar piece of composition.

I have taken a larger scope than was absolutely needful, in beginning with the Portuguese discoveries in Africa, which I might have supposed to be known to my readers. But I have little scruple in doing this, as I generally find I gain most from those books which presume the reader to be most ignorant. Before studying this subject of slavery I had no knowledge of what may be supposed to be the well-known facts of the case; and as I traced up the matter to its source for my own information, so my narrative is simply formed by retracing my steps.

I have said enough in explanation of the book, and have now only to commend it to your friendly perusal.

I am glad that this happens to be one of your years of office as Vice-Chancellor, as, in dedicating this book to you now, I have

DEDICATION.

the additional pleasure of paying a mark of respect to the first officer in a University which I always look upon with due filial reverence and gratitude.

I remain,

My dear Friend,

Yours affectionately,

THE AUTHOR.

London, July 1848.

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS—DISCOVERY OF THE CANARY ISLANDS—BETHENCOURT—PORTUGUESE DISCOVERIES IN AFRICA UNDER PRINCE HENRY.

THE history of every nation tells of some great transaction peculiar to that nation, something which aptly illustrates the particular characteristics of the people, which shows, as we may say, the part in human nature which that nation explains and renders visible. In English history, the contest between the Crown and the Parliament: in that of France, the French Revolution: in that of Germany, the religious wars, are such transactions. All nations of the same standing have portions of their history much alike; border wars, intestine divisions, contests about the succession to the throne, uprisings against favorites, and other matters, about which if you put differ-

2 INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

ent names to the account of the same transaction, it will do very well for the history of various nations, and nobody would feel any strangeness or irrelevancy in the story, whether it were told of France, England, Spain or Germany. Carrying on the idea to the history of our system, if the other worlds around us are peopled with beings not essentially unlike ourselves, there may be amongst them plenty of Alexanders, Cæsars, and Napoleons; all that conquering work of theirs may be commonplace enough in many planets, and thus the thing most worthy to be noticed in the records of our Earth, may be its commercial slavery and its slave trade. For we may hope, though it be to our shame, that they have not got these elsewhere.

Black against us, and almost unaccountably mean and cruel as much of this history is, still it is not altogether without something to be said for us on the other side; and is by no means destitute of the highest matters of human interest. The history of slavery is not merely an account of commercial greediness and reckless cruelty carried to the uttermost; but embodies the efforts of the greatest men of many periods, their errors, their disputations, their bewilderments: it partakes largely of the nice questions canvassed by

ecclesiastics; is combined with the intrigues of courts and cabinets; and, alas! is borne on the winds by the resolute daring of hardy mariners and far-seeing discoverers—men who should have been foremost in the attack upon all mean cruelty, and some of whom thought that they were. Again, in the history of slavery, if it could be well worked out, lie the means of considering questions of the first import touching colonization, agriculture, social order, and government.

The remarkable people connected with the history of slavery are alone sufficient to give it some interest. These are the royal family of Portugal throughout the 15th century, with Prince Henry at their head; then there are Ferdinand and Isabella, Columbus, and the whole band of brave captains before and after him; there are Charles the 5th, Ximenes, Las Casas, Vieyra, and hosts of churchmen and statesmen from those times down to the present.

Lastly, there is the fate of one continent, perhaps we may say, of two, deeply concerned in the history of slavery.

The importance of the records in this matter is not to be measured by the show they make, which is often poor enough. There is many a small skirmish in the history of slavery which led

to more result than pitched battles between rival nations contending apparently for Empire. For the results of battles may almost be said to depend for importance, not so much upon the measure of success on the occasion of the battle, or the object of it, as upon the essential difference between the parties contending and the opinions that they hold of each other: greatly on the contempt, whether deserved or not, which the victors have for the vanquished. Supposing, therefore, that one nation, or race, commits an error in misunderstanding another which it wars successfully against, the result of that war is likely to be larger, especially for evil, as the misunderstanding in question is greater. The consequences of battle, whether between races or individuals, where each knows the worth of the other, are seldom such as to obliterate the fame and courage, or change the whole social aspect of the vanquished party. But when Spartan conquers Helot, barbarian Goth or Visigoth subdues the polished Roman; or civilized man with his many implements invades and subdues the simple savage; then come the cruelty and dire mismanagement which are born of ignorance and want of sympathy. And thus, as in all human affairs, we get to see the righteousness that there is in right understanding.

“ Then shalt thou understand righteousness, and judgment and equity ; yea every good path.

“ When wisdom entereth into thine heart, and knowledge is pleasant unto thy soul ; ”

Yet with all this commendation of the interest of the subject of slavery, it must be confessed that it is a subject which lacks dramatic interest. It has no one thread to run upon like the account of any man's life, or the history of a nation. The story of slavery is fragmentary, confused ; in a different state of progress in different parts of the world at the same time, and deficient in distinct epochs to be illustrated by great adventures. Moreover, people think that they have already heard all about it ; which is not so.

In fine, it may be allowed that the reader must bring with him much of the interest which he is to find in considering this subject of slavery. At the same time he may remember that it has been justly held, that one element of the sublime is great extent. In looking over the vast morasses, unmarked by tower, or citadel, or town, which the horizon descends upon but does not bound, the shaping mind finds more to think of than in the landscape that laughs with every variety of scenic beauty. And here, too, in this

subject of slavery is one which, be it ever so dull, presents at all times an indefinite extent of human struggle and human suffering.

My intention in this work is to make a contribution to the general history of slavery, by giving an account of the origin and progress of modern slavery, which will embrace the principal events that led to the subjection of the Indians of the new world, and to the introduction of negro slavery in America and the West Indies.

Discovery
of the Ca-
nary Is-
lands.

The history of modern slavery begins naturally with the history of African discovery, and first and foremost in that was the discovery of the Canary Islands. These were the "elysian fields" and "fortunate islands" of antiquity. Perhaps there is no country in the world that has been so many times discovered, conquered, invaded, or fabled about, as these islands. There is scarcely any nation upon earth of any maritime repute that has not had to do with them. Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Romans, Moors, Genoese, Normans, Portuguese, and Spaniards of every province, (Aragonese, Castilians, Gallicians, Biscayans, Andalusians) have all meddled in this

matter.* The Carthaginians are said to have discovered these islands, and to have reserved them as an asylum in case of extreme danger to the state. Sertorius, the Roman general who partook the fallen fortunes of Marius, is said to have meditated retreat to these "islands of the blessed," and by some writers is supposed to have gone there. Juba, the Mauritanian prince, son of Sallust's Juba, sent ships to examine them, and has left a description of them.†

Then came the death of empires and darkness on the human race, at any rate upon the face of history. When the world revived again, and especially when the knowledge of the loadstone began to be rife amongst mariners, the Canary Islands were again discovered. Petrarch is referred to by Viera to prove that the Genoese sent out an expedition to these islands.‡ Las Casas tells us that an English or French vessel bound from France or England to Spain was driven by contrary winds to the Canary Islands, and on its

* Viera y Clavigo. *Historia general de las islas de Canaria*, Madrid, 1772. lib 3.

† Viera, *ib.* 1, sec. 18.

‡ Petrarca de *vitâ solitariâ*, lib. 2, sec. 6, cap. 3.

return spread abroad in France an account of the voyage.* The information thus obtained (and perhaps in other ways of which we have no record) stimulated Don Luis de la Cerda, count of Clermont, great grandson of Don Alonzo the Wise of Castile, to seek for the investiture of the Crown of the Canaries, which was given to him with much pomp by Clement the 6th, at Avignon, A. D. 1344, Petrarch being present.† This sceptre proved a barren one. The affairs of France, with which the new king of the Canaries was connected, drew off his attention, and he died without having visited his dominions. The next authentic information that we have of the Canary Islands is that, in the times of Don Juan the First of Castile, and of Don Enrique his son, these islands were much visited by the Spaniards.‡ In 1399 we are told certain Andalucians, Biscayans, Guipuzcoans, with the license of Don Enrique, fitted out an expedition of five vessels, and making a descent on the island of Lanzarote, one of the Canaries, took captive the king

* Las Casas. Hist. Gen. de las Ind. MSS. primera parte, tom. 1, cap. 17.

† Viera, vol. 1, sec. 21.

‡ Ortiz de Zuñiga, annales A. D. 1399, p. 262.

and queen, and one hundred and seventy of the islanders.*

Hitherto, we have had nothing but discoveries, rediscovers, and invasions of these islands, but now a colonist appears upon the scene. This was Juan de Béthencourt a great Norman baron, lord of St. Martin le Gaillard in the county of Eu, of Béthencourt, of Granville, of Sançerre, and other places in Normandy, and chamberlain to Charles the 6th. of France. Those who are at all familiar with that period, and with the mean and cowardly barbarity which characterised the long continued contests between the rival factions of Orleans and Burgundy, may well imagine that any Frenchman would then be very glad to find a career in some other country. Whatever was the motive of Juan de Béthencourt, he carried out his purpose stoutly. Leaving his young wife, and selling part of his estate, he embarked at Rochelle in 1402 with men and means for conquering and establishing himself in the Canary Islands. It is not our intention to give a minute description of this expedition. Suffice it to say that Béthencourt met with fully the usual difficulties, distresses, treacheries, and disasters that

1402.

Béthen-
court's ex-
pedition.

* Viera, lib. 3, sec. 25.

belong to this race of enterprizing men. After his arrival at the Canaries, finding his means insufficient, he repaired to the court of Castile, did acts of homage to the king, Enrique the 3rd, and afterwards renewed them to his son Juan the 2nd, thereby much strengthening the claim which the Spanish monarchs already made to the dominion of these islands. Béthencourt returning to the islands with renewed resources, subdued the greater part of them, reduced several of the natives to slavery, introduced the Christian faith, built churches, and established vassalage. On the occasion of quitting his colony in A. D. 1405 he called all his vassals together, and represented to them that he had named for his lieutenant and governor Maciot de Béthencourt his relation; that he himself was going to Spain and to Rome to seek for a bishop for them; and he concluded his oration with these words:

“ My loved vassals, great or small, plebeians or nobles, “ if you have anything to ask me or to inform me of, if “ you find in my conduct anything to complain of, do “ not fear to speak, I desire to do favour and justice to “ all the world.” *

The assembly he was addressing contained none of the slaves he had made. We are told, how-

* Viera, lib. 4, sec. 20.

ever, and that by eye-witnesses, that the poor natives themselves bitterly regretted his departure, and, wading through the water, followed his vessel as far as they could. After his visit to Spain and to Rome, he returned to his paternal domains in Normandy, where, while meditating another voyage to his colony, he died A. D. 1425.

Maciot de Béthencourt ruled for some time successfully; but, afterwards, falling into disputes with the bishop, and things going ill with him, Maciot sold his rights to Don Enrique the prince of Portugal, also, as it appears, to another person, and afterwards settled in Madeira. The claims to the government of the Canary Islands were, for many years, in a most entangled state, and the right to the sovereignty over them was a constant ground of dispute between the crowns of Spain and Portugal: all which, fortunately, it is not needful for us to enter upon.

Thus ended the enterprize of Juan de Béthencourt, which, though it cannot be said to have led to any very large or lasting results, yet as it was the first modern attempt of the kind, deserves to be chronicled before we commence with Prince Henry of Portugal's long continued and connected efforts in the same direction. The events also which preceded and accompanied Béthencourt's

enterprize, need to be recorded to show the part which many nations, especially the Spaniards, had in these first discoveries on the Coast of Africa.

Birth of
Prince
Henry of
Portugal.

We now turn to the history of the Portuguese discoveries made, or rather caused to be made, by Prince Henry of Portugal. This prince was born in 1394. He was the third son of John the First of Portugal and Philippa of Lancaster, sister of Henry the Fourth of England. That good Plantagenet blood on the mother's side was not, I should think, without avail to a man whose life was to be spent in insatiate attempts to work out a great idea. This prince was with his father at the taking of Ceuta in 1415. He was especially learned for that age of the world, being skilled in mathematical and geographical knowledge. And it may be noticed here, that the greatest geographical discoveries have been made by men conversant with the book knowledge of their own time. A work, for instance, often seen in the hands of Columbus, and which his son mentions as having had much influence with him, was the learned treatise of Cardinal Petro de Aliaco, (Pierre d'Ailly) the "*Imago Mundi*."

But to return to Prince Henry of Portugal. We are told that he had conversed much with

those who had made voyages in different parts of the world, and particularly with Moors from Fez and Morocco, so that he came to hear of the Azenegues, a people bordering on the country of the negroes of Jalof.

And now, the first thing for us to do is the same as it was for Prince Henry, in which we may be sure he was not remiss; namely, to study our maps and charts. Without frequent reference to maps, a narrative like the present forms in our mind only a mirage of names and dates and facts: is wrongly apprehended even while we are regarding it, and soon vanishes away. The map of the world being before us, let us reduce it to the proportions it filled in Prince Henry's time: let us look at our infant world. First, take away those two continents, for so we may almost call them, each much larger than a Europe, to the far West. Then cancel that square massive-looking piece to the extreme South-East; happily there are no penal settlements there yet. Then turn to Africa: instead of that form of inverted cone which it presents, and which we now know there are physical reasons for its presenting; make a scimitar shape of it by running a slightly-curved line from Juba on the Eastern side to Cape Nam on the Western. Declare all below that line

unknown. Hitherto, we have only been doing the work of destruction ; but now scatter emblems of Hippogriffs and Anthropophagi on the outskirts of what is left in the map, obeying a maxim not confined to the ancient geographers only—where you know nothing, place terrors. Looking at our completed map, we can hardly help thinking to ourselves with a smile what a, comparatively speaking, minor space the known history of the world has been transacted in up to the last four hundred years. The idea of the universal Roman dominion shrinks a little : and we begin to fancy that Ovid might have escaped his tyrant. No time, however, remains to moralize : fixing our eyes on that part which was the starting point for Prince Henry, we are now ready to accompany him.

Our prince having once the idea in his mind, that Africa did not end where it was commonly supposed, namely, at Cape Nam (Not), but that there was a world beyond that forbidding negative, seems not to have rested until he had made known that quarter of the globe to his own. He fixed his abode upon the promontory of Sagres, at the southern part of Portugal, from whence, for many a year, he could watch for rising specks of white sail bringing back his captains to tell him of new

countries and new men. We may wonder that he never went himself: but he might have thought that he served the cause better by remaining at home and forming a centre from whence, if we may so express it, the electric energy of enterprize was communicated to many discoverers and collected from them. Moreover, we must recollect that he was much engaged in public affairs. In the course of his life he was three times in Africa, carrying on war against the Moors; and, at home, besides the care and trouble which the state of the Portuguese court and government must have given him, he was occupied in promoting science and encouraging education.

In 1415, as we said before, he was at Ceuta. In 1418, he is settled on his promontory of Sagres. One night in that year he is thought to have had a dream of promise, for, on the ensuing morning, he suddenly ordered two vessels to be got ready forthwith; and placed them under the command of Joham Gonçalves Zarco and Tristram Vaz, gentlemen of his household, to proceed down the Barbary coast on a voyage of discovery.

1418.

First expedition under the command of Joham Gonçalves Zarco and Tristram Vaz.

The contemporary chronicler, Azurara, tells the story more simply, and merely gives us to understand that these young men, after the ending of the Ceuta campaign, were as eager for em-

16. PORTUGUESE DISCOVERIES.

ployment as the prince for discovery; and that they were ordered on a voyage having for its object the general molestation of the Moors as well as that of making discoveries beyond Cape Nam. The Portuguese mariners had a proverb about this Cape, "he who would pass Cape Not, either will return, or not," (*Quem passar o Cabo de Nam, ou tornará, ou nam,*) intimating that if he did not turn before passing the Cape, he would never return at all. On the present occasion it was not destined to be passed; for these captains, Joham Gonçalves Zarco and Tristam Vaz, were driven out of their course by storms, and accidentally discovered a little island, where they took refuge, and from that circumstance called the island Porto Santo. "They found there," says Sousa, "a race of people in no respect arranged politically, but not altogether barbarous and savage, and possessing a kindly and most fertile soil."* I mention this description of the first land discovered by Prince Henry's captains, thinking it would well apply to many other lands about to be found out by his captains and other discoverers. Joham Gon-

Porto
Santo dis-
covered.

* "Hallaron alli gente nada politica, mas no del todo barbara o selvage, y poseedora de un benevolo y fertilissimo terreno."—*Faria y Sousa Asia Portuguesa*, Lisbon. 1666. tom. 1, part 1, cap. 1.

çalvez and Triftam Vaz return. Their master is delighted with the news they bring him, more on account of its promise than its substance. In the same year he sends them out again together with a third captain, Bartholomew Pereftrelo, and assigns a ship to each captain. His object is not only to discover more islands, but to improve his Porto Santo. He sends, therefore, various seeds and animals. This seems a man worthy to direct discovery. Unfortunately, however, amongst the animals some rabbits are introduced into the new island; and they conquer it, not for the prince, but for themselves. Hereafter, we shall find them giving his people much trouble and causing some reproach to him.

We come now to the year 1419. Pereftrelo, for some cause not known, returned to Portugal at that time. After his departure, Joham Gonçalves and Triftam Vaz, seeing from Porto Santo something that seemed like a cloud, but yet different (the origin of so much discovery, noting the difference in the likenesses), built two boats, and, making for this cloud, soon found themselves alongside an island beautiful and abundant in many things, but most in trees, to be called from thence, Madeira (wood). The two discoverers, Joham Gonçalves Zarco and Triftam

1419.

Madeira
discover

Vaz enter the island at different parts. The prince, their master, afterwards rewarded them with the captaincies of those parts. To Perestrelo he gave the island of Porto Santo, to populate it: showing therein the just master who rewards, not according to fortune, but to endeavour. Perestrelo, however, did not make much of his captaincy, but after a strenuous contest with the rabbits, having killed an army of them, died himself. This Perestrelo is interesting to us as being the father-in-law of Columbus, who, indeed, lived at Porto Santo for some time, and here, on new-found land, meditated far bolder discoveries.

Joham Gonçalves Zarco and Tristram Vaz begin the cultivation of their island of Madeira, but meet with an untoward event at first. In clearing the wood, they kindle a fire amongst it, that burns for seven years, we are told, and in the end the wood, which gave the name to the island, and which, in the words of the historian, overshadowed the whole land, became the most deficient commodity. The captains founded churches in the island: and the king of Portugal, Don Duarte, gave the temporalities to Prince Henry, and all the spiritualities to the knights of Christ.

While these things were occurring at Madeira and at Porto Santo, Prince Henry had been

prosecuting his general scheme of discovery, sending out two or three vessels each year, with orders to go down the coast from Cape Nam, and make what discoveries they could, but these did not amount to much, for the captains never got beyond Cape Bojador, which is situated seventy leagues to the south of Cape Nam. This Cape Bojador was formidable in itself, being terminated by a ridge of rocks with fierce currents running round them: but was much more formidable from the fancies which the mariners had formed of the sea and land beyond it; for men, though they may shrink from an undertaking, yet will not be without their theories about it to justify their fears. "It is clear," they said, "that beyond this cape there is no people whatever; the land is as bare as Libya, no water, no trees, no grass in it; the sea so shallow that at a league from the land it is only a fathom deep; the currents so fierce, that the ship which passes that cape will never return."*

This outstretcher (for such is the meaning of the word Bojador) was therefore as a bar drawn across the anxious hopes of our great discoverer.

We hear that he had now been working at his

* Azurara. Paris, 1841. cap. 8.

The people murmur at Prince Henry's proceedings.

discoveries for twelve years with little approbation from many persons, (*con poca aprovacion de muchos*) the discovery of these islands, Porto Santo and Madeira, serving to whet his appetite for further enterprize, but not winning the common voice in favour of prosecuting discoveries on the coast of Africa. The people at home, improving upon the reports of the sailors, said that

“ the land which the Prince sought after, was merely
 “ some sandy place like the deserts of Libya; that Princes
 “ had possessed the empire of the world and yet had not
 “ undertaken such designs as his, or shown such anxiety
 “ to find new kingdoms : that the men who arrived
 “ in those foreign parts (if they did arrive) turned from
 “ white into black men : that the king Don John, the
 “ Prince’s father, had given to strangers lands in his
 “ kingdom, to break them up and cultivate them, a thing
 “ very different from taking the people out of Portugal,
 “ which had need of them, to bring them amongst savages
 “ to be eaten, and to place them upon lands of which
 “ the mother-country had no need ; that the Author of
 “ the world had provided these islands solely for the habitation of wild beasts, of which an additional proof
 “ was, that the very rabbits they themselves had introduced were now dispossessing them of the island.” *

There is much here of the usual captiousness to

* Faria y Sousa, tom. 1, part 1, cap. 1.

be found in bystanders' criticisms upon action, mixed with a great deal of false assertion and premature knowledge of the ways of Providence. Still it were to be wished that most criticism upon action was as wise. For that part of the common talk which spoke of King John's doings, and of the keeping their own population to bring out their own resources, had a wisdom in it which the men of future centuries were yet to discover throughout the Peninsula.

Prince Henry, as we may see by his perseverance up to this time, was not a man to have his purposes diverted by such criticism, much of which must have been in his eyes worthless and inconsequent in the extreme. Nevertheless, he had his own misgivings. It must have been a weary time of late years to him. His captains returned one after another with no good tidings of discovery, but with petty plunder gained as they returned, from incursions on the Moorish coast. The prince concealed from them his chagrin at the fruitless nature of their attempts; but probably did not feel it less on that account. He began to think, was it for him to hope to discover that land which had been hidden from so many princes? Still he felt within himself the incitement of "a virtuous obstinacy" which would not let him rest.

Would it not, he thought, be ingratitude to God who thus moved his mind to these attempts, if he were to desist from his work, or be negligent in it? * He resolved, therefore, to send out Gil Eannes, one of his household, who had been sent out the year before, but had returned, like the rest, having discovered nothing. He had been driven to the Canary Islands, and had seized upon some of the natives there whom he brought back. With this transaction the prince had shown himself dissatisfied, and Gil Eannes, now entrusted again with command, resolved to meet all dangers to carry out the wishes of his master. Before his departure, the prince called him aside and said,

“ You cannot meet with such peril that the hope of
“ your reward shall not be much greater; and in truth,

* Porém quando os capitães tornavam, faziam algumas entradas na costa de Berberia, (como atrás dissemos,) com que elles refaziam parte da despeza, o que o Infante passava com soffrimento, sem por isso mostrar aos homens descontentamento de seu serviço, dado que não cumprissem o principal a que eram enviados. Porque como era Principe Catholico, e todalas suas coufas punha em as mãos de Deos, parecia-lhe que não era merecedor que per elle fosse descoberto, o que tanto tempo havia que estava escondido aos Principes passados de Hespanha. Com tudo, porque sentia em si hum estimulo de virtuosa perfia, que o não leixava descansar em outra coufa, parecia-lhe que era ingratidão a Deos dar-lhe estes movimentos, que não desistisse da obra, e elle ser a isso negligente.—*Barros*, Lisbon, 1778. dec. 1, lib. 1, cap. 4.

“ I wonder what imagination this is that you have all
 “ taken up,—in a matter, too, of so little certainty; for if
 “ these things which are reported had any authority, how-
 “ ever little, I would not blame you so much. But you
 “ quote to me the opinions of four mariners, who, as
 “ they were driven out of their way to Frandes or to some
 “ other ports to which they commonly navigated, had
 “ not, and could not have used, the needle and the chart;
 “ but do you go, however, and make your voyage with-
 “ out regard to their opinion, and, by the grace of God,
 “ you will not bring out of it anything but honour and
 “ profit.”*

We may well imagine that these stirring words of the prince must have confirmed Gil Eannes in his resolve to wipe out the stain of his former misadventure. And he succeeded in doing so; for he passed the dreaded Cape Bojador,—a great event in the history of African discovery, and one that in that day was considered equal to a labour of Hercules. Gil Eannes returned to a grateful and most delighted master. He tells the prince that he had landed, and that the soil appeared to him unworked and fruitful: and, like a prudent man, could not only tell of foreign plants, but had brought some home with him in a barrel of the new-found earth, plants much like those which

Cape Bo-
jador pass-
ed.

* Azurara, cap. 9.

bear in Portugal the roses of Santa Maria. The prince rejoiced to see them and gave thanks to God, "as if they had been the fruit and sign of the promised land; and besought our lady, whose name the plants bore, that she would guide and set forth the doings in this discovery to the praise and glory of God, and to the increase of his sacred faith."*

The pious wish expressed above is the first of the kind that we have occasion to notice in this historical account; but similar wishes seem to have been predominant in the minds of the greatest discoverers and promoters of discovery in those times. I believe this desire of theirs to have been thoroughly genuine and deep-seated; and, in fact, that the discoveries would not have been made at that period but for the impulse given to them by the most pious minds longing to promote, by all means in their power, the spread of what to them was the only true and saving faith. We shall find much to blame in the conduct of the first discoverers in Africa and America, but we must do them the justice to acknowledge that the love of gold was not by any means the only motive which urged them, or which could have urged them,

* Barros, dec. 1, lib. 1, cap 4. Azurara, cap. 9.

to such endeavours as theirs. We should more readily admit the above conclusion, if we kept in our minds the views then universally entertained of the merits and efficacy of mere formal communion with the church, and the fatal consequences of not being within that communion. A man so enlightened as Las Casas scorns passages brought against him in argument from the works of heathen writers, men who are now living in hell, as he says: and Columbus, in giving an account of his third voyage to the Catholic sovereigns, says, that in temporal matters he has only a "blanca" for the offertory, and that in spiritual matters he is so apart from the holy sacraments of the holy church, that if he were to die where he is, his soul would be forgotten (*que se olvidará desta anima si se aparta acá del cuerpo*). "Weep for me," he says, "ye that are charitable, true, or just."

And doubtless in the minds of the common people, the advantage of this communion with the church stood at the highest. This will go a long way to explain the wonderful inconsistency, as it seems to us, of the most cruel men appealing to their good works as promoters of the faith. And the maintenance of such church principles will

altogether account for the strange overfights which pure and high minds have made in the means of carrying out those principles, fascinated as they were by the brilliancy and magnitude of the main object they had in view.

The old world has now got a glimpse beyond Cape Bojador. The fearful "outstretcher" has no longer much interest for us, is a thing that is overcome and which is to descend from an impossibility to a land-mark, from whence, by degrees, we shall almost silently steal down the coast, counting our miles by thousands, until Vasco de Gama boldly takes us round to India.

After the passing of Cape Bojador there was a lull in Portuguese Discovery: the period from 1434 to 1441 being spent in enterprizes of no great distinctness or moment. Indeed, during the latter part of this period, the Prince was fully occupied with the affairs of Portugal. In 1437 he made the unfortunate expedition to Tangier, in which his brother Ferdinand was taken prisoner and ended his days in slavery to the Moor. And in 1438, king Duarte dying, the troubles of the regency occupied Prince Henry's attention. In 1441, however, there was a voyage which led to very important consequences. In that year Anto-

nio Gonçalves, master of the robes to Prince Henry, was sent out with a vessel to load it with skins of "sea wolves," a number of them having been seen, during a former voyage, in the mouth of a river about fifty-four leagues beyond Cape Bojador. Gonçalves resolved to signalize his voyage by a feat that should gratify his master more than the capture of sea-wolves; and he accordingly planned and executed successfully an expedition for capturing some Azeneghi Moors, in order, as he told his companions, to take home "some of the language of that country." Nuño Tristram, another of Prince Henry's captains, afterwards falling in with Gonçalves, a further capture of Moors was made, and Gonçalves returned to Portugal with his spoil.

In this same year, Prince Henry applied to Pope Martin the Fifth, praying that his Holiness would grant to the Portuguese crown all that it should conquer, from Cape Bojador to the Indies, together with plenary indulgence for those who should die in the attempt. The pope granted this. "And now," says a Portuguese historian, "with this apostolic grace, with the breath of "royal favour, and already with the applause of "the people," (no common talk now about white men turning into black, or lands intended by

Grant
from the
Pope.

1441.

Providence only for wild beasts,) "the prince pursued his purpose with more courage and "with greater outlay."*

In 1442, the Moors whom António Gonçalves had taken the previous year, promise to give black slaves in ransom for themselves if he will take them back to their own country; and the prince, approving of this, orders Gonçalves to set sail immediately, "insisting as the foundation of the "matter, that if Gonçalves should not be able to "obtain so many negroes (as had been mentioned) "in exchange for the three Moors, yet that he "should take them; for whatever number he "should get, he would gain souls, because they "(the negroes) might be converted to the faith, "which could not be managed with the Moors."† Here again we see the religious motives predominating: and, indeed, we may note the same motive in numerous passages in which this Prince's conduct comes before us.

Gonçalves obtains ten black slaves, some gold dust, a target of buffalo hide, and some ostriches'

* Faria y Sousa, tom. 1, part 1, cap. 1.

† Ordenou o Infante de o despachar logo em hum navio, fazendo fundamento, que quando Antão Gonçalves não pudesse haver tantos negros a troco destes tres Mouros, já de quantos quer que fossem ganhava almas, porque se converteriam á Fé, o que elle não podia acabar com os Mouros. *Barros*. dec. 1, lib. 1, cap. 7.

eggs, in exchange for two of the Moors, and, returning with his cargo, excites general admiration on account of the colour of the slaves.*

These, then, we may presume, are the first black slaves that made their appearance in the Peninsula since the extinction of the old slavery.

First black
slaves in
the Peni-
sula.

I am not ignorant that there are reasons for alleging that Negroes had before this era been seized and carried to Seville. In the ecclesiastical annals of Ortiz de Zuñiga under the date 1474, we are told that negro slaves abounded in that city, and that the fifths levied on them produced considerable gains to the royal revenue; it is also mentioned that there had been traffic of this kind in the days of Don Enrique the Third, about 1399, but that it had since then fallen into the hands of the Portuguese. The Chronicler states that the Negroes of Seville were treated very kindly from the time of King Enrique, being allowed to keep their dances and festivals; and that one of them was named "mayoral" of the rest, who protected them against their masters, and before the courts of law, and also settled their own private quarrels. There is a letter from Ferdinand and Isabella in

* "Entraron en el Reyno con admiracion comun, causada del color de los esclavos."—*Faria y Sousa*, tom. 1, part 1, cap. 1.

the year 1474, to a celebrated negro, Juan de Valladolid, commonly called the "Negro Count," (el Conde Negro) nominating him to this office of "mayoral of the negroes," which runs thus.

"For the many good, loyal, and signal services which you have done us, and do each day, and because we know your sufficiency, ability, and good disposition, we constitute you mayoral and judge of all the negroes and mulattoes, free, or slaves, which are in the very loyal and noble city of Seville, and throughout the whole Archbishopric thereof, and that the said negroes and mulattoes may not hold any festivals, nor pleadings amongst themselves, except before you Juan de Valladolid, negro, our judge and mayoral of the said negroes and mulattoes; and we command that you, and you only, should take cognizance of the disputes, pleadings, marriages and other things which may take place amongst them, forasmuch as you are a person sufficient for that office, and deserving of your power, and you know the laws and ordinances which ought to be kept, and we are informed that you are of noble lineage amongst the said negroes."†

But all this merely shows that in the year 1474 there were many negroes in Seville, and that laws and ordinances had been made about them. These negroes might all, however, have been imported

† Ortiz de Zuñiga. Madrid, 1677. *Annales de Sevilla*. p. 374

into Seville, since the Portuguese discoveries. True it is that in the times of Don Enrique the Third and during Béthencourt's occupation of the Canary Islands, slaves from thence had been brought to France and Spain : but these islanders were not negroes, and it certainly may be doubted whether any negroes were imported into Seville previous to 1443.

Returning to Portuguese affairs, the historian Faria y Soufa tells us, that the gold obtained by Gonçalves " awakened, as always, covetousness." The next year Nuño Trifan went further down the African coast, and off the island of Adeget, one of the Arguim Islands, captured 80 natives, and brought them to Portugal. These, however, were not negroes, but Azenegues.

The tide of popular opinion was now not merely turned, but in full flow in favour of Prince Henry and his discoveries. The discoverers are found to come back rich in slaves and other commodities ; whereas it is remembered that in former wars and undertakings, those who had been engaged came back in great distress. Strangers, too, came from afar scenting the prey. A new mode of life, as the Portuguese said, had been found out for them ; and we are told that " the

Prince Henry in favour with his countrymen.

“ greater part of the kingdom was moved with a
 “ sudden desire to follow this way to Guinea.”*

1444.
 Company
 of adven-
 turers for
 further
 discovery.

In 1444, a company is formed at Lagos, who receive permission from the prince to go upon these discoveries, paying him a certain portion of the proceeds. This has been considered as a company founded for carrying on the slave trade, but I do not think that we have evidence to show that its founders meant this to be its purpose. It might rather be compared to an expedition sent out, as we should say in modern times, with letters of marque, in which, however, the prizes chiefly hoped for are not ships or merchandize, but men. After getting some ostriches' eggs, the first thing the expedition does, is to attack the inhabitants of the islands Nar and Tider, and to bring back about two hundred slaves.† I grieve to say that we do not find our great discovering prince putting a check to any of these doings, but, on the contrary, he rewards with large honours Lançarote, one of the principal men of this expedition, and receives his own fifth of the

* Barros, dec. 1, lib. 1, cap. 8.

† Barros does not say of what race these slaves were, but merely calls them “almas.” Faria y Sousa gives them the name of “Moors,” a very elastic word. I imagine that they were Azenegues.

slaves. Yet I have scarcely a doubt that the words of the historian are substantially true,—that discovery, not gain, was still the prince's leading idea.* We have an account from an eye-witness of the partition of the slaves brought back by Lançarote, which, as it is the first transaction of the kind on record, is worthy of notice, more especially as it may enable us to understand the motives of the prince, and of other men of those times. It is to be found in the *Chronicles of Azurara*. The good chronicler is torn to the heart at the sorrow he witnesses, but still believes it to be for good; and that he must not let his mere earthly commiseration get the better of his piety.

“O thou heavenly Father,” he exclaims, “who, with thy powerful hand, without movement of thy divine essence, governest all the infinite company of thy holy city, and who drawest together all the axes of the upper worlds, divided into nine spheres, moving the times of their long and short periods as it pleases thee! I implore thee that my tears may not condemn my conscience, for not its law, but our common huma-

* Porque huma das cousas, que o Infante naquella tempo trazia ante os olhos, e em que o mais podiam comprazer, e servir, era em aquelle descobrimento, por ser cousa, que elle plantára, e creára com tanta industria, e despeza.—*Barros*, dec. 1, lib. 1, cap. 8.

“ nity constrains my humanity to lament piteously the
“ sufferings of these people (slaves). And if the brute
“ animals, with their mere bestial sentiments, by a na-
“ tural instinct, recognize the misfortunes of their like,
“ what must this my human nature do, seeing thus before
“ my eyes this wretched company, remembering that
“ I myself am of the generation of the sons of Adam !
“ The other day, which was the eighth of August, very
“ early in the morning, by reason of the heat, the mari-
“ ners began to bring to their vessels, and, as they had
“ been commanded, to draw forth those captives to take
“ them out of the vessel : whom, placed together on that
“ plain, it was a marvellous sight to behold, for amongst
“ them there were some of a reasonable degree of white-
“ ness, handsome and well-made ; others less white,
“ resembling leopards in their colour ; others as black
“ as Ethiopians, and so ill-formed, as well in their faces
“ as their bodies, that it seemed to the beholders as if
“ they saw the forms of a lower hemisphere. But
“ what heart was that, how hard soever, which was not
“ pierced with sorrow seeing that company : for some
“ had sunken cheeks, and their faces bathed in tears,
“ looking at each other ; others were groaning very do-
“ lorously, looking at the heights of the heavens, fixing
“ their eyes upon them, crying out loudly, as if they
“ were asking succour from the Father of nature ; others
“ struck their faces with their hands, throwing them-
“ selves on the earth ; others made their lamentations
“ in songs, according to the customs of their country,
“ which, although we could not understand their lan-

“ guage, we saw corresponded well to the height of
“ their sorrow. But now, for the increase of their
“ grief, came those who had the charge of the distribu-
“ tion, and they began to put them apart one from the
“ other, in order to equalize the portions; wherefore
“ it was necessary to part children and parents, husbands
“ and wives, and brethren from each other. Neither
“ in the partition of friends and relations was any law
“ kept, only each fell where the lot took him. O pow-
“ erful fortune! who goest hither and thither with thy
“ wheels, compassing the things of the world as it
“ pleaseth thee, if thou canst, place before the eyes of
“ this miserable nation some knowledge of the things
“ that are to come after them (*cousas postumeiras*) that
“ they may receive some consolation in the midst of their
“ great sadness! and you others who have the business
“ of this partition, look with pity on such great misery,
“ and consider how can those be parted whom you
“ cannot disunite! Who will be able to make this
“ partition without great difficulty? for while they
“ were placing in one part the children that saw their
“ parents in another, they sprang up perseveringly and
“ fled to them; the mothers enclosed their children in
“ their arms and threw themselves with them on the
“ ground, receiving wounds with little pity for their own
“ flesh so that their children might not be torn from
“ them! And so, with labour and difficulty, they con-
“ cluded the partition, for, besides the trouble they
“ had with the captives, the plain was full of people, as
“ well of the place as of the villages and neighbourhood

“ around, who in that day gave rest to their hands, the
 “ mainstay of their livelihood, only to see this novelty.
 “ And as they looked upon these things, some deploring,
 “ some reasoning upon them, they made such a riotous
 “ noise, as greatly to disturb those who had the manage-
 “ ment of this distribution. The Infante was there
 “ upon a powerful horse, accompanied by his people,
 “ looking out his share, but as a man who for his
 “ part did not care for gain, for, of the forty-six souls
 “ which fell to his fifth, he speedily made his choice, as
 “ all his principal riches were in his contentment, con-
 “ sidering with great delight the salvation of those souls
 “ which before were lost. And certainly his thought
 “ was not vain, for as soon as they had knowledge of
 “ our language, they readily became Christians; and
 “ I, who have made this history in this volume, have
 “ seen in the town of Lagos young men and young
 “ women, the sons and grandsons of those very captives,
 “ born in this land, as good and as true Christians as if
 “ they had lineally descended, since the commencement
 “ of the law of Christ, from those who were first bap-
 “ tized.”

The good Azurara wishes that these captives
 might have some foresight of the things to happen
 after their death: I do not think it would have
 proved much consolation to them to have foreseen
 that they were almost the first of many millions
 to be dealt with as they had been. For, in this
 year, 1444, Europe may be said to have made a

distinct beginning in the slave trade, henceforth to spread on all sides, like the waves upon stirred water, and not, like them, to become fainter and fainter as the circles widen. Beginning
of the slav
trade.

In 1445, an expedition was fitted out by the prince, and the command given to Gonfálvo de Cintra, who was unsuccessful in an attack on the natives near Cape Blanco. He and some other of the principal men of the expedition lost their lives. These were the first Portuguese who died in battle on that coast. In the same year, the prince sent out three other vessels. The captains received orders from the Infante, Don Pedro, who was then regent of Portugal, to enter the river d'Oro, and make all endeavours to convert the natives to the faith, and even, if they should not receive baptism, to make peace and alliance with them. This did not succeed. Very likely the captains found negotiation of this kind exceedingly tame and apparently profitless in comparison with the pleasant forays made by their predecessors. The attempt, however, shows much intelligence and humanity on the part of those in power in Portugal. That the instructions were sincere is proved by the fact of this expedition returning with only one negro, gained in ransom, and a Moor who came of his own accord to see the Christian country.

This same year 1445, is signalized by a great event in the progress of discovery along the African coast. Dinis Dyaz, called by Barros and the historians who followed him, Dinis Fernandez, seeks employment from the Infante, and being entrusted by him with the command of a vessel, pushes boldly down the coast, and passes the river Sanaga (Senegal) which divides the Azenegues (whom the first discoverers always called Moors) from the negroes of Jalof. The inhabitants were much astonished at the presence of the Portuguese vessel on their coasts, and at first took it for a fish, or a bird, or a phantasm; but when in their rude boats (hollowed logs) they neared it and saw that there were men in it, judiciously concluding that it was a more dangerous thing than fish, or bird, or phantasm, they fled. Dinis Fernandez, however, captured four of them off that coast, but as his object was not slave hunting but discovery,* he went on till he discovered Cape Verde and then returned to his country, to be received with much honour and favour by Prince Henry. These four negroes taken by Dinis Fernandez, were the first taken in their own country by the Portu-

Dinis Fernandez discovered Cape Verde.

* Como seu proposito mais era descobrir terra por servir o Infante, que trazer cativos pera seu proprio proveito.—*Barros*, dec. 1, lib. 1, cap. 9.

guese.* That the prince is still engaged in high thoughts of discovery and conversion, we may conclude from observing that he rewarded and honoured Dinis Fernandez as much as if he had brought him large booty. Barros says, "he," (the prince) "thought little of whatever he could do for those who came to him with these signs and tokens of another greater hope which he had."†

First negroes taken in their own country by the Portuguese.

In this case, too, as in others, we should do the prince great injustice if we supposed that he had any slave-dealer's pleasure in getting these negroes; as it is far more probable that he valued them as persons capable of furnishing intelligence, and, perhaps, of becoming interpreters, for his future expeditions. Not that, without these especial motives, he would have thought it anything but great gain for a man to be made a slave, if it were the means of bringing him into communion with the Church.

After this, several expeditions, which did not

* Os quaaes foram os primeiros que em sua propria terra foram filhados per Xpaãos, nem ha hi cronica nem estorya em que se conte o contrario.—*Azurara*, cap. 31.

† Que sempre lhe parecia pouco o que fazia aquelles, que lhe vinham com estas mostras, e sinaes d'outra maior esperanza que elle tinha.—*Barros*, dec. 1, lib. 1, cap. 9.

1447.
xpedi-
on under
ançarote.

lead to much, occupied the Prince's time till 1447. In that year, a fleet, large for those times, of fourteen vessels, was fitted out at Lagos by the people there, and the command given by Prince Henry to Lançarote. The object seems to have been, from a speech that we have of Lançarote's, to make war upon the Azeneghi Moors, and especially to take revenge for the defeat which Gonçalvo de Cintra suffered in 1445, near Cape Blanco. That purpose effected, the ships parted company. Lançarote went southwards, extending the discovery of the coast to the river Gambia. In the course of his proceedings on that coast, we find again that Prince Henry's instructions insisted much upon the maintenance of peace with the natives.* Another instance of the same disposition on his part deserves to be especially recorded. The expedition had been received in a friendly manner at Gomera, one of the Canary Islands. Notwithstanding this kind reception, Juan de Castilla took some of the natives prisoners. On

* Gomes Pires, a quem o Capitão Lançarote mandou em hum batel, que fosse a elles, parecendo-lhe que os provocava mais a paz, que lhe o Infante muito encommendava em seu Regimento, lançou-lhes em terra hum bollo, hum espelho, e huma folha de papel, em que hia debuxada huma cruz.—*Barros*, dec. 1, lib. 1, cap. 13.

their coming to Portugal, Prince Henry had them clothed and placed at liberty in the place where they were taken from.*

This expedition under Lançarote had no great result. They went a little further down the coast than they had ever been before, but they did not make friends with the natives, who had already been treated in a hostile manner by some Portuguese from Madeira. Neither did the expedition make great spoil, but only indulged in small skirmishes and took no large number of prisoners. They had got into feuds with the natives, and were preparing to attack them, when a storm dissipated their fleet and made them return home.

It appears, I think, from the general course of proceedings of the Portuguese in those times, that they considered there was always war between them and the Azeneghi Moors, that is in the territory from Ceuta as far as the Senegal River ; but that they had no declared hostility against the negroes of Jalof or beyond, though skirmishes of course would be sure to happen from ill understood attempts of friendship on the one side, and just or needless fears on the other.

* Infidelidad que el Infante castigò con mandarlos vestir, y ponerlos libres, y luzidos en su naturaleza.—*Faria y Sousa*, tom. 1, part 1, cap. 1.

Ambassadors sent to the King of the Cape Verde territory.

The last public enterprize of which Prince Henry had the direction, was worthy to close his administration of the affairs relating to Portuguese discovery. He caused two Ambassadors to be dispatched to the King of the Cape Verde territory, to treat of peace, and to introduce the Christian Faith. One of the Ambassadors, a Danish gentleman, was treacherously killed by the natives, and upon that the other returned, having accomplished nothing.

1446. Don Alfonso the Fifth, the nephew of Prince Henry, now took the reins of government, and the future expeditions along the coast of Africa proceeded in his name. Still it does not appear that Prince Henry ceased to have power and influence in the management of African affairs; and we read that the first thing that the king did in them was, to enact that no one should pass Cape Bojador without a license from Prince Henry. Some time between 1448 and 1454 a fortress was built in one of the islands of Arguim, which islands had already become a place of bargain for gold and negro slaves.* And this was the first Portuguese

* "Porque a las Islas de Arguim concurría rescate de oro, y "negros, mandò el Rey levantar a una dellas el Castillo de a-
"quel nombre, (y fue el primero que se levantò en nuestras con-
"quistas.)"—*Faria y Sousa*, tom. 1, part. 1, cap. 2.

establiſhment on the coaſt of Africa. It ſeems according to Barros, that a ſyſtem of trade was now eſtabliſhed between the Portugueſe and the negroes.†

First Por-
tugueſe eſ-
tabliſh-
ment on
the Coaſt
of Africa.

Having come to an important point in the courſe of Portugueſe diſcovery we may now make a pauſe, not without ſome ſatiſfaction at having got through the moſt tedious, though not the moſt uninterſting, part of the narrative—a part chiefly marked by names, dates, and bare events, which ſtand in the undiverſified ſtory, like ſolitary poſt-houſes in the “Steppes” of Ruſſia or the “Landes” in France. If the reader has found the narrative very dull, I am ſorry for it, but am ſure that he would not wiſh to have had the ſtory made ſeemingly more interſting by the omiſſion of dull or apparently inconſequent facts, or by that rounding off, or falſe interweaving, which often gives a completeneſs to narrative at the entire ſacrifice of truth. I believe in our every day narratives, in the account we have to give of the

† A eſte tempo o negocio de Guiné andava já mui corrente entre os noſſos, e os moradores daquellas partes, e huns com os outros ſe communicavam em as couſas do commercio com paz, e amor, ſem aquellas entradas, e ſaltos de roubos de guerra, que no principio houve.—*Barros*, dec. 1, lib. 2, cap. 2. See alſo *Azurara*, cap. 95.

transactions of common life, we are as much diverted from truth by the love of making a neat and fluent narrative as by almost any other temptation.

Admitting, however, to the full any tediousness that there may be in this account of early Portuguese discovery, we ought not, I think, to consider it uninteresting. The beginnings of great things—even if obscure, trivial, isolated ; without the details which bring reality into presence ; and round which the hopes and the fortunes of men have not yet gathered—still cannot be devoid of interest to any thoughtful, forecasting mind. The traveller willingly dismounts to see the streamlet which is the origin of a great river : and the man of imagination, (who is patient in research because he is imaginative) as, in science, he laboriously follows with delight the tracks now hardened in the sandstone of obscure birds which paddled over those buried plains ages ago ; so, in history, he will often find material to meditate upon, and to observe, in slight notices which, however, like the others, indicate much to him of bygone times and wondrous changes.

CHAPTER II.

CA DA MOSTO'S VOYAGE—PRINCE HENRY'S DEATH
—HIS CHARACTER—FURTHER DISCOVERIES OF THE
KINGS OF PORTUGAL.

T the close of the preceding chapter it was intimated that the narrative of these Portuguese Voyages is rather uninviting. Could we recall, however, the voyagers themselves, and listen to their story, we should find it animating enough. Each enterprize, as we have it now, with its few dry facts, seems a meagre affair; but it was far otherwise to the men who were concerned in it. We have seen that piety had a large part in these undertakings: doubtless the love of adventure and the craving for novelty had their parts too.* And what adventure it was! new trees, new men, new animals, new stars, to be seen: nothing bounded, nothing trite; nothing which had the bloom taken off it by much previous description! These

* See Humboldt's *Kosmos*. Sabine's translation, London, 1848. vol. 2, p. 274.

early voyagers, moreover, were like children coming out to take their first gaze into the world, with ready credulity and unlimited fancy, willing to believe in fairies and demons, Amazons and "forms of a lower hemisphere," mystic Islands and fountains of perpetual youth.

Then, too, besides the hopes and fears of each individual of the crew, the conjoint enterprize had in it a life and a career to be made out. It started to do something; fulfilled its purpose, or at least some purpose; and then came back radiant with success—thenceforth to be a great historical fact. Or, on the other hand, there was perhaps some small failure or mischance early in the voyage: the sailors then began to reckon up ill omens and say, that little good will come of this business: further on, some serious misadventure happened which made them turn, or from the mere lapse of time, they were obliged to bethink themselves of getting back; safety, not renown or profit, now became their object, and their hope was at best but the negative of some fear. Thereupon ensued a good deal of recrimination amongst themselves; for very few people are magnanimous enough to share ill-success kindly together. Then, in the long dull evenings of their voyage homewards, as they sat looking on the waters, they thought what excuses and explanations they would

make to their friends at home, and how shame and vexation would mingle with their joy at returning.

This thing, teeming as it was with anxious life, makes but a poor show in some chronicle—they failed; and did something, or did not; and then came back; and this was in such a year—like the entry in an almanack or the brief tale on a tombstone.

We are now, however, entering upon a time when we are fortunate enough to meet with a voyager who can tell us more of the details of things than we have hitherto heard, and who is, himself, his own chronicler.

In 1454, Ca da Mosto, a young Venetian, who had already had some experience in voyaging, happened to be on board a Venetian galley that was detained by contrary winds at Cape St. Vincent. Prince Henry was then living close to the Cape. He sent his secretary and the Venetian consul on board the vessel where Ca da Mosto was. They told of the great things the Prince had done, showed samples of the commodities that came from the lands discovered by him, (Madeira sugars, Dragon's blood, and other articles,) and spoke of the gains made by Portuguese voyagers, being 700 or 1000 per cent. Ca da Mosto asks permission to go, is informed

of the terms, and hears that a Venetian would be well received by the Prince "because he was of opinion, that spices, and other rich merchandize, might be found in these parts; and knew, that the Venetians understood these Commodities better than any other Nation.*

Ca da Mosto's voyage.

In fine, Ca da Mosto sees the Prince, is evidently much impressed by him; and being furnished with a caravel, embarks his merchandize in it, and sets off on a voyage of discovery. We have now for the first time an intelligent man on board one of these vessels giving us his own account of the voyage.

Management of slave-trade in 1454.

From Ca da Mosto we at once learn the state of things with regard to the slave trade. The Portuguese factory at Arguim is the head quarters of the trade. Thither come all kinds of merchandize, and gold and slaves are taken back in return. The "Arabs" of that district (Moors, the Portuguese would call them,) are the middle men in this affair. They take their Barbary horses to the negro country, and "there barter with the great men for slaves," getting from ten to eighteen for each horse. They also bring silks of Granada and Tunis, and silver, for which they

* Astley's Voyages, vol. 1, p. 574.

get slaves and gold. These Arabs, or Moors, have a place of trade of their own, called Hoden, behind Cape Blanco. There the slaves are brought,

“ from whence they are sent to the mountains of Bar-
 “ ka, and from thence to Sicily ; part of them are also
 “ brought to Tunis, and along the coast of Barbary, and
 “ the rest to Argin, and sold to the licensed Portuguese.
 “ Every year between seven and eight hundred slaves
 “ are sent from Argin to Portugal.”*

“ Before this trade was settled,” says Ca da Mosto, the Portuguese used to seize upon the Moors themselves, (as we have occasionally seen in this short account,) and used also to seize the Azenegues who live further towards the South ; but now he says peace is restored to all,

“ and the Infante suffers no farther damage to be done
 “ to these people. He is in hopes, that by conversing
 “ with Christians, they may easily be brought over to
 “ the Romish faith, as they are not, as yet, well estab-
 “ lished in that of Mohammed ; of which they know
 “ nothing but by hear-say.”†

No doubt the prince's good intentions were greatly furthered by the convenience of this mode of trading. In short, gain has made for itself its

* Aftley's Voyages, vol. 1, p. 577.

† Ibid, vol. 1, p. 578.

usual convenient channels to work in, and saves itself as much as it can the trouble of discovery or marauding.

Ca da Mosto being, as I said before, the first modern European visiting Africa who gives, himself, an account of it, and being moreover apparently an honest and intelligent man, all that he says is most valuable. He notices the difference of the people and the country on the opposite sides of the Senegal river : on the northern side he finds the men small, spare and tawny ; the country arid and barren : on the southern side, the men “ exceeding “ black, tall, corpulent and well made ; the coun- “ try green and full of green trees.” This latter is the Jalof country, the same that Prince Henry first heard of long ago in his intercourse with the Moors. Ca da Mosto gives a minute description of the people which is well worth noting.

“ It is very hot here, not being so cold in January, “ as it is in Italy in the month of April, and the farther “ one travels, the more the heat increases. Both men “ and women wash themselves four or five times a day, “ being very cleanly as to their persons, but not so in “ eating, in which they observe no rule. Although “ very ignorant and awkward in going about any thing “ which they have not been accustomed to, yet in their “ own business which they are acquainted with, they are

“ as expert as any Europeans can be. They are full
“ of words, and never have done talking; and are,
“ for the most part, liars and cheats. Yet, on the other
“ hand, they are very charitable; for they give a dinner,
“ or a night's lodging, and a supper to all strangers who
“ come to their houses, without expecting any return.

“ These negro lords often make war among them-
“ selves, and with their neighbours. They have no
“ cavalry for want of horses: they wear no arms save
“ a large target for their defence, made of the skin of a
“ beast, called Danta, which is very difficult to be
“ pierced; and Azagays, or light darts, in throwing of
“ which they are very dexterous. These darts are
“ pointed with iron, the length of a span, barbed in
“ different manners; so that they make dangerous
“ wounds in the body wherever they enter, tearing the
“ flesh grievously when pulled out. They also have a
“ Moorish weapon, which is like a Turkish half-sword;
“ that is, bent like a bow, and made of iron (without
“ any steel) brought from the kingdom of Gambia by
“ the negroes, who thereof make their arms; and if
“ they have any iron in their own country, they know
“ nothing of it, or want industry to work it. They use
“ also another weapon, like our javelin; besides which,
“ they have no other arms.

“ As they have but few arms, their wars are very
“ bloody, for their strokes do not fall in vain. They
“ are extremely bold and fierce, choosing rather to be
“ killed, than to save their lives by flight. They are not
“ afraid to die, nor scared, as other people are, when

“ they see a companion slain. They have no ships, neither did they ever see any before the Portuguese came upon their coast. Those inhabiting near the river, and some who live by the sea, have Zappolies, or Almadias, made out of a single piece of wood, the largest whereof carries three or four men. In these they fish sometimes, and go up and down the river. These negroes are the greatest swimmers in the world, by the experiments the Author has seen of them in these parts.”*

Ca da Mosto left the country of the Jalofs and proceeded eight hundred miles further, as he says, but he must I think have over-estimated his reckoning, to the country of King Budomel. Budomel receives our voyager courteously, and makes purchases of him, which are paid for in slaves. Ca da Mosto gives us an account of the religion in Budomel's country, which deserves notice :

“ Budomel behaved with great complaisance to Ca da Mosto, and carried him into the mosque ; for, towards evening, he ordered the Azanaghi or Arabs, whom he always has about him, to say prayers. His manner was thus :—Being entered into the mosque, (which was in one of the courts) with some of the principal negroes, he first stood with his eyes lifted up, then

Budomel's
religion.

* Afley's Voyages, vol. 1, p. 582.

“ he advanced two steps, and spoke a few words softly ;
“ after which, he stretched himself on the ground and
“ kissed it. The Azanaghi, and all the rest, did the
“ same. Then rising, he repeated the same acts over
“ again, ten or twelve times, which took up half an
“ hour. When he had done, he asked the author’s opi-
“ nion of their manner of worship ; and to give him some
“ account of his own religion. Hereupon Ca da Mosto
“ told him, in presence of his doctors, that the religion
“ of Mohammed was false ; and the Romish, the true
“ one. This made the Arabs mad, and Budomel laugh ;
“ who, on this occasion, said, that he looked upon the
“ religion of the Europeans to be good : for that none
“ but God could have given them so much riches and
“ understanding. He added, however, that the Mo-
“ hammedan Law must be also good ; and that he be-
“ lieved the negroes were more sure of salvation than
“ the Christians, because God was a just Lord ; and
“ therefore, as he had given the latter Paradise in this
“ world, it ought to be possessed in the world to come
“ by the negroes, who had scarce anything here, in
“ comparison of the others. In all his discourse he
“ showed a good understanding, and took great pleasure
“ in hearing the customs of the Christians. Ca da Mosto
“ believed he might easily have been converted, were it
“ not for fear of losing his estate ; for his nephew, in
“ whose house he lodged, often told him so ; and took
“ great delight himself in hearing the author talk of his
“ religion.” *

* Afley’s Voyages, vol. 1, p. 584.

Perhaps there is hardly any thing which tells more of the state of a people than their markets. We will, accordingly, hear Ca da Mosto's account of them.

“ As the author was several days on shore, he went
“ three or four times to see one of their markets or
“ fairs, which was kept on Mondays and Fridays in a
“ meadow, not far from the place where he was lodged.
“ Hither repaired, with their wares, both men and
“ women, for four or five miles about ; and those who
“ lived at a greater distance, went to other markets
“ nearer them. The great poverty of this people ap-
“ peared in the goods found in these fairs ; which were,
“ a few pieces of cotton-cloth, cotton-yarn, pulse, oil,
“ millet, wooden tubs, palm-mats, and every thing
“ else for the use of life. Here also one meets with
“ arms, and small quantities of gold. As they have
“ no money or coin of any kind, all trade is carried on
“ by way of barter ; exchanging one thing for another,
“ according to the different values. These blacks, both
“ men and women, came to gaze on Ca da Mosto, as if
“ he had been a prodigy ; and thought it a great curiosity
“ to behold a white man, for they had never seen any
“ before. They were as much astonished at his dress as
“ his colour ; being clothed after the Spanish fashion,
“ with a black damask waistcoat, and a cloak over it.
“ They admired the woollen cloth of which they have
“ none ; and seemed much surprised at the sight of the
“ waistcoat. Some catching him by the arms and

“ hands, which they rubbed with spittle, to see if the
 “ whiteness was natural or artificial; and finding that
 “ his skin was not painted, their wonder continued.
 “ The end of his going to these markets was chiefly, to
 “ see what quantity of gold was brought thither.”*

Ca da Mosto leaves Budomel's country, and sailing southwards, comes to the river Gambia (now called Gambia) which the voyagers enter, but cannot conciliate the inhabitants. A contest ensues, which deserves to be recorded as an instance of signal valour, almost unparalleled valour, considering that the arms used by the Europeans were totally unknown to their opponents.

“ The Almadias came under the prow of Cada
 “ Mosto's ship, which was foremost; and, dividing
 “ themselves into two divisions, took him in their
 “ centre. This gave him an opportunity to tell their
 “ number, which was fifteen and as large as barks.
 “ They ceased to row, raised their oars, and looked
 “ upon the caravel with wonder. There were between
 “ an hundred and thirty and an hundred and fifty negroes, all well made, of a good size and very black.
 “ They wore white cotton shirts on their bodies, and
 “ white caps on their heads, like the Germans, but
 “ with a wing on each side, and a feather in the middle,
 “ by which they distinguished themselves to be soldiers

* Afley's Voyages, vol. 1, p. 587.

“ of war. At the prow of each Almadia, there stood
 “ a negro with a round target, which seemed to be of
 “ leather, on his arm; yet they neither attacked the
 “ caravel, nor she them.

“ Thus they continued peaceably till they saw the
 “ other two ships bear down on them. Then they
 “ prepared, dropped their oars, and without any further
 “ ceremony shot their arrows at them. The ships, see-
 “ ing the attack made upon them, discharged four pieces
 “ of cannon at the enemy: the report whereof so stupi-
 “ fied them, that they threw down their bows; and,
 “ looking some time one way, and some time another,
 “ remained surpris'd to see the stones, shot by the cannon,
 “ fall in the water near them. They continued in this
 “ suspense for a considerable while: but, seeing the
 “ cannon fired no more at them, plucked up courage,
 “ and, laying hold of their bows, renewed the fight with
 “ great fury, approaching within a stone's throw of the
 “ ships. Hereupon the sailors began to discharge their
 “ cross-bows at them. The first shot was made by the
 “ bastard son of the Genoese gentleman, which, hitting
 “ a negro in the breast, he immediately dropped down
 “ dead. Those in the Almadia took up the dart and
 “ gazed at it with wonder, but did not give over the
 “ attack, which they carried on vigorously, and were
 “ as courageously oppos'd by the caravels; insomuch,
 “ that in a little time many of them were killed, without
 “ the loss of one European. The Negroes observing
 “ the disadvantage they laboured under, all the Al-
 “ madias agreed to attack the little caravel in stern,

Valour of
 the Ne-
 groes.

“ which was both ill-manned and ill-armed. They
“ executed this design with great fury : which Ca da
“ Mosto observing, he moved forward to her assistance;
“ and getting her between the two large caravels, they
“ all discharged their cannon and cross-bows at the Al-
“ madias which made them retire. After this, they
“ linked the three caravels together, and dropped an
“ anchor that held them all, as it was calm.”*

During their stay in the river Gambia, Ca da Mosto and his companions saw the constellation of the Southern Cross for the first time. Finding that the people would have nothing to do with them, for they believed that the Christians were very bad people, and bought Negroes to eat them, Ca da Mosto and the commanders wished to proceed a hundred miles further up the river ; but the common sailors would not hear of it, and the expedition forthwith returned to Portugal.

In 1456, Ca da Mosto made another voyage, in the course of which he discovered the Cape de Verde Islands. Leaving them, he went again to the Gambia river, which he appears to have ascended much further than during his previous expedition, and to have conciliated the natives. The voyagers enter the “ Lord Battimanfa’s”

* Afley's Voyages, vol. 1, p. 590.

territory, and seek to make a treaty with him. It is curious to see the nature of the commodities dealt in.

Battiman-
fa's Coun-
try.

“ As soon as the messengers had declared their com-
“ mission, Battimanfa immediately ordered certain ne-
“ groes to the caravel; with whom they not only
“ entered into a treaty of friendship, but also bartered
“ several things for negro-slaves, and some gold :
“ though nothing in comparison from what they ex-
“ pected from the account given by those of Senega ;
“ who, as they are very poor, look upon that as a large
“ quantity, which our adventurers considered but very
“ trifling. They value their gold as a very precious
“ thing, and at a greater rate than the Portuguese did ;
“ yet, for all that, the latter had it very reasonably,
“ since they gave them for it things of very little value.
“ They continued here eleven days ; during which time
“ the caravels were resorted to by numbers of negroes,
“ from each side of the river, who came to see novelties,
“ and sell their goods ; among which were a few gold
“ rings.

“ They traded with cotton and cotton-yarn. Some
“ pieces were all white ; others striped with blue and
“ white ; and a third sort, with red, blue and white
“ stripes, very well wrought. They likewise brought
“ civet, and civet-cat-skins, monkeys, large and small
“ baboons of various sorts : which, being very plenty,
“ they sold them cheap, that is, for something not ex-
“ ceeding ten marquets a head ; and the ounce of

“civet, for what was not worth more than forty or
“fifty: not that they sold the things by weight; but
“the author judged it to be about that quantity.”*

Leaving the river Gambia, Ca da Mosto and his company went down the coast, discovered Cape Roxo, and, afterwards sailed up the river Grande; but for want of any knowledge of the language of the people, were forced to return to Portugal.

Sometime between 1460 and 1464, an expedition went out under Piedro de Cintra, one of the king of Portugal's gentlemen, to make further discoveries along the African coast. These voyagers, whose story is briefly told by Ca da Mosto, discovered Sierra Leone (so called on account of the roaring thunder heard there) and went a little beyond Cape Mesurado. The historian Barros says that the African coast from Cape Bojador to Sierra Leone, was discovered in Prince Henry's time, in which case it seems probable that this voyage of Piedro de Cintra's was before the prince's death, but Ca da Mosto, (and I incline to trust him) makes it afterwards. However that may be, we may fairly consider

Prince
Henry's
death.

* Afley's Voyages, vol. 1, p. 594.

60 PRINCE HENRY'S CHARACTER.

Sierra Leone as being near the point of discovery attained at, or about, the death of Prince Henry, of whom, before parting with him, we must say something.

Prince
Henry's
character.

“ He had a grandeur of nature,” says Faria y Sousa, “ proportionate to the greatness of his doings ; he was “ bulky and strong ; his complexion red and white ; his “ hair coarse, and almost hirsute ; his aspect produced “ fear in those who were not accustomed to him ; not to “ those who were, for even in the strongest current of his “ vexation at any thing, his courtesy always prevailed over “ his anger ; he had a grave serenity in his movements, “ a notable constancy and circumspection in his words, “ modesty in all that related to his state and personal “ observance, within the limits of his high fortune ; he “ was patient in labour, bold and valorous in war, versed “ in arts and letters ; a skilful fencer ; in the mathema- “ tics superior to all men of his time : generous in the “ extreme : zealous in the extreme for the increase of “ the faith. No bad habit was known in him. He did “ not marry, nor was it known that he ever violated the “ purity of continency. His memory was equal to the “ authority he bore, and his prudence equal to his “ memory. He died at Sagres in the year one thousand “ four hundred and sixty three, in the sixty seventh year “ of his age, and lies with his father in the most illustrious church of Batalla.”*

* Faria y Sousa, tom. 1, part 1, cap. 1.

The above is of the class of characters, somewhat unqualified and general, which we are accustomed to from historians; but, I believe, it is one of the truest of its kind: it lacks, however, those slight touches and variations in which so much of individual resemblance consists. We may map down the main qualities of a man, one by one; but this alone will hardly suffice to convey to us such a complex, perverse, varying, dubious thing as any one human character. Fortunately, in this case, we are enabled from the chronicler Azurara, who evidently knew the prince well, and speaks with perfect honesty about him, to supply two or three of those little niceties of description which give life and reality to the picture. Azurara says, that the Prince was a man "of great counsel and authority, wise, and of good memory, but in some things slow, whether it was through the prevalence of the phlegmatic temperament in his constitution, or from intentional deliberation, being moved to some end which men did not perceive."*

His portrait confirms the latter hypothesis, giving the idea of a man of great deliberation, but no laxity of purpose: and we may notice

* Azurara, cap. 4.

how this would agree with the story of his apparently sudden resolve in sending out his first expedition, a thing with him probably long thought of, little talked of, and rapidly put in execution. Again, in another place, the Chronicler hints at a defect in the prince, where he says, " There was " no hatred known in him, nor ill will against " any person, however great the injury he had " received from him ; and such was his benignity " in this respect, that judicious men remarked " against him, that he was wanting in distributive justice, (*justicia distributiva*) for, in all " other respects, he conducted himself justly." There are instances in his history which bear out this, and one especially, in which he is stated to have overlooked the desertion of his banner, on an occasion of great peril to himself, and afterwards to have unjustly favoured the persons who had thus been found wanting in courage. I suppose we must confess this to have been an error on his part, but at least it is an heroic one, Cæsar-like, and adds, perhaps, to our liking for him, what little it may take away from our confidence in the precision of his justice.

We learn from the same source that his house was the resort of all the good men of the kingdom, and of foreigners, and that he was a man

of intense labour and study. "Often the sun found him in that same place where it had left him the day before, he having watched throughout the whole arc of the night without any rest."*

Altogether, whether we consider this Prince's motives, his objects, his deeds, or his mode of life, we find him not merely one of the most notable men of his own country and period, but of all modern times and nations, and one upon whose shoulders might worthily rest the arduous beginnings of continuous maritime discovery. Would that such men remained to govern the lands they have the courageous foresight to discover. Then indeed they might take to themselves the motto "*talant de bien faire*" which this, their great leader, caused to be inscribed by his captains in many a land, which as yet at least has not found much good from its introduction, under his auspices, to the civilization of an older world.

In 1469, and perhaps in consequence of Prince Henry's superintendence of African discovery being missed, King Alfonso adopted a new system, and farmed out the commerce with the coast of

King Alfonso farms out the Coast of Africa to Fernar do Gome

* Azurara, cap. 6.

Africa to Fernando Gomez for five years at one thousand ducats a year, upon certain conditions, one of which was that he should advance the discovery along the coast, beginning from Sierra Leone, three hundred miles in the course of each of the five years.* Fernando Gomez, by his captains Juan de Santarem and Pedro de Escobar, discovered the Gold Coast, which they called Oro de la Mina, and gained great riches which he expended in aid of the King's expeditions against the Moors. He was in consequence ennobled, and received the name of El Mina. Fernando Po discovered the island of Formosa, now called by the name of the discoverer. The last discovery in the life of King Alfonso was that of Cape Catharina.

1481. Don Juan the Second succeeded to his father Don Alfonso. This king was very earnest in African discovery. He resolved that a fort should be built at La Mina; and for this purpose sent an expedition under Diego de Azambuja with six hundred men, (five hundred soldiers and one hundred artizans), and the fort already made in separate pieces, as we now send out palaces for native chiefs, or lighthouses, to distant parts.

Fort built
at La Mi-
na.

* Barros, dec. 1, lib. 2, cap. 2.

The account of the proceedings of this expedition is interesting. On the arrival of the ships at La Mina, Azambuja jumps on shore to take possession, fixes the Portuguese flag upon a tree, raises an altar at the foot of the tree, and causes mass to be said, the first ever said in those parts. The Portuguese commander then prepares to receive the negro king with due pomp. The king arrives, surrounded by a large company of his subjects well armed. Their helmets, however, made of skins were such as to provoke "more mirth than terror." Their king's arms and legs were covered with ornaments of gold. On his neck was a chain with bells suspended to it, like that of the first mule in a fet. Before him went the band, with numerous and various instruments, producing "more noise than harmony." The instruments were such as are well known, timbrels, horns, and bells. The negro king arrives himself, "serene and severe," and the Portuguese captain comes forward to meet him, "magnificent in dress and grave in aspect." The king takes the hand of the other in sign of peace, and the ceremonious part of the matter being ended, Azambuja makes known the proposition he had brought from his master (here we must take the very words of the historian), "which was to

“ make the negro king understand first the way
 “ of the catholic rites, and then to hide from him
 “ the way of our covetousness, asking leave to
 “ make a house in which our people could live ;
 “ and force was to be used to compel them, if it
 “ should be necessary.” “ I do not,” says the candid historian, “ imagine that I shall persuade the
 “ world that our intent was only to be preachers ;
 “ but on the other hand the world must not fancy
 “ that our intent was merely to be traders.” *

The Portuguese captain was listened to with
 “ marvellous silence,” and the proposition touching the Christian faith well received: the other about building a fort was listened to very coldly. The negro king was not so dull as to be without an unpleasant foresight of what this fort-building might come to. However, the Portuguese captain pressed the point, and the negro king gave it up, and took himself away. The Portuguese artizans began forthwith to work, but unfortunately commenced upon a rock that was held sacred, upon which the negroes rushed upon them. Azambuja diverted this danger by an instant dif-

* Yo no imagino persuadir al mundo que nuestro intento era solo el de ser predicadores, a trueque de que èl no imagine, que era solo el de ser mercaderes.—*Faria y Sousa*, tom. 1, part 1, cap. 3.

tribution of presents, which soothed the negroes completely, thus verifying the proverb, says the historian, that "gifts break through rocks." The castle was built, and called the fort of St. George. Azambuja being made lieutenant, ruled for three years, and came out of his employment with applause, "a difficult thing to attain amongst the Portuguese." The writer might have added amongst all people; for second-hand authority has within it the elements of decay and disapprobation, meeting with that criticism and supervision when alive which in the case of other authority is often postponed until after its death.

The King of Portugal about this time takes the title of "Lord of Guinea," and desires his captains to leave more formal notice of their discoveries at the place of discovery: to set up stones, declaring "the king, the captain, and the time; by whose order, by whom, and when" the discovery was made. The first captain sent out after this order was Diego Cam; and Martin Behaim, the great astronomer and geographer, is said to have accompanied him. They discovered the kingdom of Congo: and, at the request of the king of Congo, took back some of the sons of the principal men to be baptized, and to learn the Christian faith. Diego Cam was also bearer of a

1484.

Congo discovered by
Diego Cam.

request that priests should be sent to Congo. The king of Benin, a territory between the Gold Coast and Congo, made at this time a similar request, by an ambassador sent to the king of Portugal. This ambassador, while at Lisbon, happens to speak about a greater power in Africa than his master, to whom indeed his master is the vassal, which instantly sets the Portuguese king thinking about Prester John,—the search after whom is in the history of discovery what alchemy was to chemistry. The king concludes that this greater power must be Prester John. Bartholomew Diaz and two other captains are accordingly sent out on further discovery. They do not find Prester John, but get as far as a cape which from experience they call Cape Stormy, but which their master, seeing in its discovery an omen of better things, re-names as the Cape of Good Hope. Here we have got down the coast nearly to the southernmost point, and shall soon be curving round in due course to India.

Cape of
Good
Hope discovered.

But expeditions by sea were not the only modes of discovery undertaken by the Portuguese in the reign of John the Second of Portugal. Pedro de Covilham and Alfonso de Paiva went on an enterprize of discovery mainly by land. The latter died at Cairo: the former made his way to Can-

Expedi-
tion by
land to
Prester
John's
Country.
1487.

anor, Calecut, and Goa, and thence back to Cairo, where he found that his companion had died. He then set out again, and eventually came into the kingdom of Shoa, to the court of the king of Habbesb, who fulfilled sufficiently in Covillam's eyes the idea of Prester John, and was accordingly called so. It is a curious coincidence that an ambassador from this very king of Habbesb, called Lucas Marcos, a priest of that country, came about this time to Rome, and afterwards to Lisbon, which, as we are told, gave new health to all the king of Portugal's "hopes, wishes, "and endeavours."

A more remarkable person, even than an ambassador from Prester John, came nearly at the same time to Lisbon. This was Bemoin, prince of Jalof. Bemoin came to seek the protection of the king of Portugal, and his story was this. He was the brother on the mother's side of Brian, king of Jalof. This king was inert and vicious. He had, however, the sense to make Bemoin prime minister, and to throw all the cares and troubles of governing upon him. Nothing was heard in the kingdom but of Bemoin. But he, seeing perhaps the insecurity of his position, diligently made friends with the

Bemoin
Prince of
Jalof.

Portuguese, keeping aloof, however, from becoming a convert, though he listened formally to those who expounded the Christian faith to him. Cibitab, a brother of the inert Brian, by the father's side, became jealous of Bemoin, revolted, killed Brian, and vanquished Bemoin, who threw himself upon the protection of his Portuguese friends and came to Lisbon.

Bemoin was received magnificently by King John of Portugal. The negro prince had formerly alleged that one of his reasons for not becoming a Christian was the fear of disgusting his followers; but being in Portugal that reason no longer holds good and he now becomes a convert, and is baptized as Don John Bemoin, King John being his Godfather. Twenty four of Bemoin's gentlemen received baptism after him. This is the account of his reception.

“ Bemoin, because he was a man of large size and fine
 “ presence, about forty years old, with a long and well
 “ arranged beard, appeared indeed not like a barbarous
 “ pagan, but as one of our own princes, to whom all
 “ honor and reverence were due : with like majesty and
 “ gravity of demeanour he commenced and finished his
 “ oration, with such inducements to make men bewail
 “ his sad fortune in exile, that only seeing these natural
 “ signs of sorrow, people comprehended what the inter-

“ preter afterwards said. And having finished the statement of his case as a good orator would, in declaring that his only remedy and only hope was in the greatness and generosity of the king, with whom he spoke aside for a short time, he was answered by the king in few words, so much to his satisfaction that immediately it made a change in his whole look, spirits, and bearing, rendering him most joyous. And taking leave of the king, he went to kiss the queen’s hand, and then that of the prince, to whom he said a few words, at the end of which he prayed the prince that he would intercede in his favour with the king. And thence he was conducted to his lodgings by all the nobility that accompanied him.”*

After this Bemoin had many conversations with the king, and always acquitted himself well.† Amongst other things he gave information to the king respecting various African nations, and especially of the king of a Jewish people who in many things were like Christians. Here again the king was delighted at finding himself upon the traces of Prester John. It must not be forgotten to mention, that the king made great rejoicings in honor of Bemoin’s conversion, on

* Barros, dec. 1, lib. 3, cap. 6.

† Mostrava ser dotado de mui claro entendimento.—Barros, dec. 1, lib. 3, cap. 7.

which occasion, the negro prince's attendants performed singular feats on horseback.*

Bemoin maintained his favour and succeeded in his object of getting assistance from the Portuguese. He was sent back to his own country with a Portuguese squadron of twenty caravels, which had in hand, besides his restitution, to found a fort on the banks of the river Senegal.

The Portuguese arrived at the river, and began building the fort, but are said to have chosen an unhealthy spot to build on. Whether they could have chosen a healthy one is doubtful. Pedro Vaz thought, however, that there was treachery on Bemoin's part and killed him with the blow of a dagger on board his vessel. The fort-building was left off and Pedro Vaz returned to Portugal, where he found the king excessively vexed and displeased at the fate of Bemoin. Faria y Sousa dismisses the matter with the following pithy remark. "The way to heaven by the Portuguese hand (baptism) came dear to Bemoin: and

* Elle D. João Bemoiij, tambem a seu modo, quiz fazer as suas; porque como trazia alguns homens grandes cavalgadores, diante del Rey corriam a carreira em pé, virandose, e assentando-se, e tornando-se levantar, tudo em huma corrida: e com a mão no arção da sella saltavam no chão, correndo a toda força do cavallo; e tornavam-se á sella tão soltos, como o podiam fazer a pè quedo.—*Barros*, dec. 1, lib. 3, cap. 7.

“ more so, if by chance it was hidden from him
“ by his despair at finding so little faith in one
“ who fought to teach him the true faith.”

The story of Bemoin is interesting, not that it carries forward the history much, but it and other such narratives show the temper, manners, and views of both Europeans and Africans towards each other; and go to indicate what might have been made out of their intercourse.

King John the Second was more successful in converting the inhabitants of Congo, than of Jalof. The ambassador from Congo, having spent two years at Lisbon, during which his attendants learnt the Portuguese language and were instructed in Christian doctrine, was sent back to his own country with three Portuguese vessels. The Portuguese were well received: mass was performed in the midst of thousands of negroes; a church was built; and the king of Congo became Christian and took the name of John. He had occasion at that time to make war against a neighbouring people; and rallying forth with a cross depicted on his banner, he was victorious. After this, the Portuguese expedition, which really seems to have come out for no other purpose than to introduce Christianity into Congo, returned, leaving persons capable of continuing the work

1490.

of conversion. The old negro king soon grew a little cold towards Christianity, disliking much its monogamic rules. He had two sons: the elder approving and the other disapproving of the new faith. The king himself inclined to his pagan younger son and the other was disinherited. On the death of the old monarch, the younger son suddenly attacked the other who had only about him thirty seven followers, Portuguese and negroes. However, under the Christian banner and probably with some little aid of Christian discipline, the elder vanquished his younger brother with all his host; became king, and did his best to establish Christianity throughout his dominions.

Christianity in Congo.

This king of Congo reigned fifty years; he was not only a warm favourer of Christianity, but himself, an active preacher, having qualified himself by learning the Portuguese language and studying the Scriptures. He sent his children and grandchildren over to Portugal; had them well taught both in Latin and Portuguese; and of his own lineage there were two bishops in his kingdom. Barros tells us, that all these things were done at the expense of the kings of Portugal.* A very noble work it was of theirs: and in the

* Barros, dec. 1, lib. 3, cap. 10.

present state of that kingdom, these are the works which may console the Portuguese nation and their rulers with a not unbecoming recollection of past greatness, and, perhaps, reanimate them to great deeds again.

We may now stop in our task of tracing Portuguese discovery on the coast of Africa. We have seen it quietly making its way for seventy years, from Cape Nam to the Cape of Good Hope, some seven thousand miles. This long course of discovery has been almost entirely thrown into shade by the more daring and brilliant discovery of America, which we have now to enter upon. Yet these doings on the African coast had in them all the energy, perseverance, and courage which distinguished American discovery. Prince Henry himself was hardly a less personage than Columbus. They had different elements to contend in. But the man whom princely wealth and position, and the temptation to intrigue which there must have been in the then state of the Portuguese court, never induced to swerve from the one purpose which he maintained for forty years, unshaken by popular clamour for or against him, however sorely vexed he might be with inward doubts and misgivings; who "scorned delights and lived

“ laborious days,” to devote himself to this one purpose—enduring the occasional short-comings of his agents with that forbearance which springs from a care for the enterprise in hand, so deep as to control private vexation (the very same motive which made Columbus bear so mildly with insult and contumely from his followers),—such a man is worthy to be put in comparison with the other great discoverer who worked out his enterprise through poverty, neglect, sore travail and the vicissitudes of courts. Moreover we must not forget that Prince Henry was undoubtedly the father of modern geographical discovery, and that the result of his exertions must have given much impulse to Columbus, if it did not first move him to his great undertaking. Having said so much in favour of Prince Henry, we must not omit to speak highly of the contemporary Portuguese monarchs who seem to have done their part in African discovery with much vigour, without jealousy of Prince Henry, and with good intent; and I would wish to include in some part of this praise his many brave captains.

The rediscovery of America (I say “rediscovery,” because I do not doubt that it was discovered by the Northmen in the ninth and tenth centuries,) just at the time when the whole of

the western coast of Africa had been made out by the Portuguese, appears to us, humanly speaking, to have furnished a most inopportune conjuncture for evil. Had not America afforded a market for slaves, we hardly see where else it could have grown up, and if it had not grown up then, legitimate commerce would have come in its place, and prevented any such trade. Black slaves might have been for some time a favourite part of the grandeur of a great household, but we do not see how they could have occupied a country already stocked with hardy labourers, fitted for the soil, as was the case with Europe. Ca da Mosto has told us that in 1455 A.D., the export of slaves was between seven and eight hundred yearly. Seeing how careless people are in the use of numbers, so that shrewd men of the world mostly divide by two or three the account in numbers of everything they hear, except men's accounts of their own debts and losses, it is not improbable that Ca da Mosto gives us an exaggerated statement of the number of slaves exported, which at the most is but a small affair indeed, when compared with the immense exportations of modern days. Moreover, from what is mentioned of the voyages since that time to the one we are now speaking of, i. e. from 1455

to 1492, it may be concluded that the trade in slaves had fallen off, so little are they mentioned, while at the same time we have signs of other articles of commerce engaging the attention of the Portuguese.*

Leaving now for a while all mention of Portuguese affairs, we commence the chapter of that man's doings whom we last heard of incidentally as son-in-law of Pereirelo and living at Porto Santo; but who is now about to become one of the few names which carry on from period to period the tidings of the world's great story, as beacon fires upon the mountain tops. There is a peculiar fascination in the account of such a doing as the discovery of America, which cannot be done any more, or anything like it,—which stands alone in the doings of the world. We naturally expect to find something quite peculiar in the man who did it, who was indeed one of the great spirits of the earth, but still of

* Precedieron otros a estos; como la costa de donde vino la primera malagueta: Faria y Sousa, tom. 1, part 1, cap. 2. El Rey D. Juan II, que sucedió a su Padre D. Alonso considerando que en la tierra nuevamente conocida avia riquezas que aumentaban sus rentas, y viendo disposicion en sus habitantes para admitir nuestra ley, ordenó que se levantara una fortaleza en aquella parte adonde se hacia el rescate del oro que llamaron de la Mina.—*Faria y Sousa*, tom. 1, part 1, cap. 3.

the same kind of stuff of which great inventors and discoverers have mostly been made. Lower down, too, in mankind there is much of the same nature leading to various kinds of worthy deeds, though there are no more continents for it to discover. There was great simplicity about him, and much loyalty and veneration, (for truly great people are apt to see here, and beyond here, something greater than themselves, or even than their own ideas). He was as magnanimous as it is, perhaps, possible to be for one so sensitive and impassioned as he was. He was humane, self-denying, courteous. He had an intellect of that largely-enquiring kind which may remind us of our great English philosopher Bacon. He was singularly resolute and enduring. The Spaniards have a word, "longanimidad," (longanimity) which has been well applied to him. He was rapt in his designs, having a ringing for ever in his ears of great projects, making him deaf to much, perhaps, that prudence might have heeded; —one to be loved by those near him, and likely by his presence to inspire favour and respect.

Such was the man under whom we are now going to enter into a wider sphere of our history of Slavery.

CHAPTER III.

DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.



COLUMBUS was born in the Genoese territory in the year 1447 or 1448. His family was obscure, but, like most others, when the light of a great man born in it is thrown upon its records, real and possible, it presents some other names not altogether unworthy to be put down as the great man's ancestors. Columbus was sent to Pavia for his education, and seems to have profited by it, for we find that he wrote legibly, designed well, was a good Latin scholar, and it is probable that he acquired then the rudiments of the various sciences in which he afterwards became proficient. At the age of fourteen he went to sea. Of his many voyages, which of them took place before, and which after, his coming to Portugal, we have no distinct record ; but we know that he traversed most of the known parts of the world, that he visited England,* that he made his way to Ice-

Early voy-
ages of
Columbus.

* *Ví todo el Levante y Poniente, que dice por ir al camino de*

land,* that he had been at El Mina, on the coast of Africa,† and had seen the islands of the Archipelago.‡ He also mentions having been employed by King René of Provence, to intercept a Venetian galliot. The next thing that we may say we know for certain of him is, that he went to Portugal, where he married Donna Felipa Muñiz Perestrelo; and is said to have been shown by his mother-in-law the papers of her deceased husband, the late governor of Porto Santo.§ and made voyages to different parts of Africa in company with Portuguese mariners. At what precise period his great idea came into his mind we have no records to show. The flow of Portuguese disco-

Septentrion, que es Inglaterra.—*Navarrete, Coleccion. Madrid, 1825. vol. 1, p. 101.*

* Yo navegué el año de quatrocientos y setenta y siete en el mes de Febrero ultra Tile . . . es tan grande como Inglaterra, van los Ingleses con mercaderia; especialmente los de Bristol.—*Las Casas, Hist. de las Indias, MSS. Primera Parte, tom. 1, cap. 8.*

† Yo estuve en la Fortaleza de San Jorge de la Mina.—*Barcia, Hist. del Almirante Christ. Colon. Madrid, 1749. cap. 4.*

‡ En otra parte hace mencion haber navegado à las Islas del Archipiélago donde en una dellas que se llama Enxion vido sacar almaciga de ciertos arboles.—*Las Casas, Hist. de las Indias, MSS. Primera Parte, tom. 1, cap. 3.*

§ Las Casas, upon the authority of Diego Columbus.—*Hist. de las Indias, MSS. Primera Parte, tom. 1, cap. 3.*

The
sources of
his great
resolve.

veries had excited the mind of Europe, and must have influenced Columbus, living in the midst of them. This may be said without in the least detracting from the merits of Columbus as a discoverer. Men do not jump from nothing to the highest realities, like people in sick dreams. A great invention or discovery is like a daring leap, but from land to land, not from nothing to something. And if we look at the subject fairly, we shall probably admit that Columbus had as large a share in the merit of his discovery as most inventors, or discoverers, can lay claim to. If the idea which has rendered him famous was not in his mind at the outset of his career of investigation, at any rate he had from the first the desire for discovery, or, as he says himself, the wish to know the secrets of this world.* Whether this impulse soon brought him to his utmost height of survey, and that he then only applied to learning in order to confirm his first views; or whether the impulse merely carried him along, with growing perception of the great truth he was to

* *Muy altos Reges; de muy pequeña edad entré en la mar navegando e lo he continuado fasta hoy: la mesma arte inclina á quien le profigue á desear de saber los secretos deste mundo. Ya pasan de cuarenta años que yo voy en este uso: todo lo que fasta hoy se navega todo lo he andado.—Navarrete, Col. Doc. Dip. num. 140.*

prove, into deep thinking upon cosmographical studies, Portuguese discoveries, the dreams of learned men, the labours of former geographers, the dim prophetic notices of great unknown lands and vague reports amongst mariners of drift wood seen on the seas; at any rate we know that he arrived at a fixed conclusion that there is a way by the west to the Indies, that he could find it out, and so come to Cipango, Cathay, the grand Can, and all that his much-studied Marco Polo told him of. Let us not pretend to lay down the exact chronological order of the formation of the idea in his mind,—in fact to know more about it than the man would probably be able to tell us himself.

Of the works of learned men, that which according to Ferdinand Columbus, had most weight with his father, was the “Cosmographia” of Cardinal Aliaco.* Columbus was also confirmed in his views of a western passage to the Indies by Paulo Toscanelli, the Florentine philosopher. That the notices, however, of western lands were not

* The following passage is particularly referred to by Ferdinand Columbus: “Et dicit Aristoteles ut mare parvum est inter finem Hispaniæ a parte occidentis et inter principium Indiæ a parte orientis. Et non loquitur de Hispaniâ citeriori, quæ nunc Hispania communiter dicitur, sed de Hispaniâ ulteriori quæ nunc Africa dicitur.”—*Aliaco, Ymago Mundi Capitulum octavum.*

84 DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

such as to have much weight with other men, is sufficiently proved by the difficulty which Columbus had in contending with adverse geographers and men of science in general, of whom he says, he never was able to convince any one.† After the new world had been discovered, many scattered indications were then found to have fore-shown it.

One thing which cannot be denied to Columbus, is that he worked out his own idea himself. And how he did so must now be told. He first applied himself to his countrymen the Genoese, who would have nothing to say to his scheme: then to the Portuguese, who listened, but with bad faith sought to anticipate him by sending out a caravel with instructions founded upon his plan. The caravel returned, the sailors not having heart to venture far enough westward. It was not an enterprize to be carried out by men who had only stolen the idea of it.

1485.
Columbus
arrives in
Spain.

Columbus, disgusted at the treatment he had received from the Portuguese court, leaves Lisbon, and after visiting Genoa, as it appears, goes to Spain to see what fortune he can meet with there, arriving at Palos in the year 1485. He leaves

† Las Casas. Hist. de las Indias. MSS. primera parte, tom. 1, cap. 33.

his young son at La Rabida, a monastery near Palos, under the care of Juan Perez de Marchena ever after to be the stoutest friend of our great adventurer, who in January 1486 makes his way to the court of Ferdinand and Isabella, then at Cordova. There Columbus finds at once a friend in Alonso de Quintanilla, a man like himself, who took delight in great things (*que tenia gusto en cosas grandes*) and who gets him a hearing from the Spanish monarchs by whom the matter is referred to the queen's confessor, who summons a junta of cosmographers, not a promising assemblage, to consult about it. They think that so many persons wise in nautical affairs never could have overlooked such a thing as this; moreover they had their own arguments against the scheme, amongst which was the not unnatural one that Columbus, after he had descended the hemisphere, would not be able to mount again, for it would be like getting up a mountain, as they said. In fine they decided that this scheme of the Genoese mariner was "vain and impossible, and "that it did not belong to the majesty of such "great princes to determine anything upon such "weak grounds of information."*

* Herrera, Historia general, Madrid, 1601. dec. 1, lib. 1, cap. 8.

Ferdinand and Isabella seem not to have taken the extremely unfavorable view of the matter entertained by the junta of cosmographers, or at least, to have been willing to put off Columbus gently; for they merely said, that with the wars at present on their hands, and especially that of Granada, they could not undertake any new expenses, but when that war was ended, they would examine his plan more carefully.*

Thus ended a solicitation at the court of Ferdinand and Isabella: which, according to some authorities, lasted five years; for the facts above-mentioned, though short in narration, occupied no little time in transaction. Columbus left the court and went to Seville with "much sadness and discomfiture" (*con mucha tristeza y desconsuelo.*) He is said then to have applied to the Duke of Medina Sidonia; and afterwards to the Duke of Medina Celi. Certain it is, that when Columbus succeeded in his enterprize, the duke of Medina Celi wrote to the Cardinal of Spain, shewing that he (the duke) had maintained Co-

* Después de mucho tiempo mandaron los Reyes Católicos, que se respondiese a don Christoual, que por hallarse ocupados en muchas guerras, y en particular en la conquista de Granada, no podían emprender nuevos gastos, que acabado aquello mandarian examinar mejor su pretension, y le despidieron.—*Herrera*, dec. 1, lib. 1, cap. 9.

lumbus two years in his house,* and was ready to have undertaken the enterprize himself, but that he saw it was one for the queen herself, and even then that he wished to have had a part in it. I do not doubt that any man in whose house Columbus was for two years, would have caught some portion of his enthusiasm and have been ready to embark in his enterprize. However, it may be conjectured that none of the nobles of the Spanish court would have been likely to undertake the matter without some sanction from the king or queen.

Columbus was now minded to go into France, and with this intent went to the monastery of La Rabida for his son Diego, intending to leave him at Cordova. At the monastery there was Columbus's faithful friend Juan Perez, to whom he doubtless detailed all his griefs and struggles, and who could not bear to hear of his intention to leave the country and go to France. Juan Perez takes Garcia Hernandez into council upon the affairs of Columbus, and they three talk the matter well over until they come to the conclusion

* Suplico á vuestra Señoría me quiera ayudar en ello, é ge lo suplique de mi parte, pues á mi cabía y por yo detenerle en mi casa dos años, y haberle enderezado á su servicio, se ha hallado tan grande cosa como esta.—*Navarrete, Coll. dip.* num. 14, vol. 2.

that Juan Perez who was known to the queen, having on some occasions acted as her confessor, should write to her highness. He does so; she sends for him, sees him, and in consequence sends money to Columbus to enable him to come to court to renew his suit. He attends the court again, but the negotiation is broken off on the ground of the largeness of the conditions which he asks for. The opponents said that these conditions were too large if he succeeded, and if he should not succeed, and the conditions should come to nothing, they thought that there was an air of trifling in granting such conditions at all.* And truth to say, they were very large; that he was to be made an Admiral at once, to be appointed viceroy of the countries he should discover, and have an eighth of the profits of the expedition. The only way, as it appears to me, of accounting for the extent of these demands and his perseverance in them, even to the risk of total failure, is that the discovering of the Indies was but a step in his mind to the greater undertakings, as they seemed to him, which he had in view of going to Jerusalem with an army, and in fact making another

* Les parecia mucho lo que queria si la empresa sucedia bien, y sino juzgauan por ligereza el concederlo.—*Herrera*, dec. 1, lib. 1, cap. 8.

crusade. For Columbus carried the ideas of the twelfth century into the somewhat self-seeking fifteenth. However, the negotiation fails, and Columbus resolves again to go to France, when Alonso de Quintanilla and Juan Perez contrive to get a hearing for our great adventurer from Cardinal Mendoza who is pleased with him. Columbus now offers, in order to meet the objections of his opponents, to pay an eighth part of the expense of the expedition. Still nothing is done. And now finally Columbus determines to go to France, indeed is actually gone one day in January of the year 1492, when Luis de Santangel, receiver of the ecclesiastical revenues of the crown of Aragon, a man much devoted to the plans of Columbus, addressed the Queen with all the energy that a man feels when he is aware that it is his last time for speaking in favour of a thing which he has much at heart. He tells her that he wonders that having always had a strong mind for great things, it should be wanting to her on this occasion.* He endeavours to pique her jealousy as a monarch, by suggesting that the enterprise may fall into the hands of other princes.

* Que auiendo tenido siempre doblado animo para grandes cosas, le faltasse en esta ocasion.—*Herrera*, dec. 1, cap. 8.

Then he says something in behalf of Columbus himself, and the queen was not unlikely to know well the bearing of a great man. He intimates to her highness that what is an impossibility to the cosmographers, may not be so in nature. Nor, continues he, should it be attributed to lightness the having tried at such a great thing, even though it should fail, for it is the part of great and generous princes to know the secrets of the world. Other princes (he does not say those of neighbouring Portugal) had gained eternal fame this way. He concluded by saying that all that Columbus wanted, to set the expedition afloat, was but a million of maravedis; and that for so small a sum so great an enterprize should not be forsaken. These well addressed arguments falling in, as they did, with those of Quintanilla the treasurer, who had great influence with the queen, prevailed. She thanked these lords for their counsel, and said she would adopt it, but they must wait until the finances had recovered a little from the drain upon them occasioned by the conquest of Granada, or if they thought that the plan must be forthwith carried out, she would pledge her jewels to raise the necessary funds. Santangel and Quintanilla kiss her hands, highly delighted at succeeding; Santangel offers to lend the money

Isabella
determines
to equip
Columbus.

from his own estate; and the queen sends an Alguazil to overtake Columbus and bring him back to the court. He is overtaken at the bridge of Pinos, two leagues from Granada, returns to Santa Fé, is well received, and finally the agreement between him and their catholic highnesses is settled with the secretary Coloma.*

We do not see much of Ferdinand in all these proceedings; and it is generally understood that he looked rather coldly upon the propositions of Columbus. We cannot say that he was at all unwise in so doing. His great compeer, Henry the Seventh, did not hasten to adopt the same project submitted to him by Bartholomew Columbus, sent into England for that purpose by his brother Christopher; and I do not know that it has been thought to derogate from the English king's sagacity. Men in power in all ages are surrounded by projectors, and have to clear the way about them as well as they can, and to take care that they get time and room for managing their own immediate affairs. It is not to be wondered at if good plans should sometimes share the fate which ought to attend, and must attend, the great mass of all projects submitted to men in power. Here,

* Herrera, dec. 1, l. 1, c. 9.

however, the ultimate event would justify the monarch's wisdom ; for it would be hard to prove that Spain has derived aught but a golden weakness from her splendid discoveries and possessions in the new world.

Moreover, the characters of the two men being essentially opposed, it is probable that Ferdinand felt contempt for the uncontrolled enthusiasm of Columbus ; and, upon the whole, it is rather to be wondered that the king consented to give the powers he did, than that he did not do more. Had it been a matter which concerned his own kingdom of Aragon, he might not have gone so far, but the expenses were to be charged on Castile, and perhaps he looked upon the whole affair as another instance of Isabella's good-natured enthusiasm.

1492.

The agreement between Columbus and their catholic highnesses was signed at Santa Fé on the 17th of April 1492 : and Columbus went to Palos to make preparation for his voyage, bearing with him an order that the two vessels which that city furnished annually to the crown for three months, should be placed at his disposal.

There was no delay in furnishing the funds for this expedition ; for we find from an entry in an account-book belonging to the bishopric of Palen-

cia,* that one million, one hundred and forty thousand maravedis were advanced by Santangel in May, 1492, "being the sum he lent for paying the caravels which their highnesses ordered to go as the armada to the Indies, and for paying Christopher Columbus, who goes in the said armada."

Juan Perez, we are told, was active in persuading men to embark. The Pinzons, rich men and skilful mariners of Palos, joined in the undertaking and subscribed an eighth of the expenses: and three vessels were manned with ninety mariners, and provisioned for a year. At length all the preparations were complete, and on a Friday (not inauspicious in this case) the 3rd of August 1492, after they had all confessed and taken the sacrament, they set sail from the bar of Saltes, making for the Canary Islands.

1492.
Columbu
sets sail.

Columbus is now fairly afloat: about to change the long continued, weary, dreary suitor's life for the sharp, intense anxiety of a struggle in which there is no alternative to success, but deplorable, ridiculous, fatal failure. Speaking afterwards of this suitor time he says "eight years I was torn with disputes, and in a word, my proposition

* Navarrete Coleccion, vol. 2, p. 5.

“ was a thing for mockery.”* It was now to be seen what mockery was in it. Our account of the voyage is mainly taken from an abridgment of Columbus’s own diary, made by Las Casas, who in some places gives the Admiral’s own words. The little squadron reached the Canary Islands in a few days, with no accident worth recording, except that the caravel “ Pinta,” commanded by Martin Alonso Pinzon, unshipped her rudder. This was supposed to be no accident, but to have been done by the owners of the vessel, who liked not the voyage. The Admiral, (from henceforth Columbus is called the Admiral) is obliged to stay some time at the Canary Islands to refit the Pinta, and to make some change in the cut of her sails. In the abridgment of the diary, under the date 9th of August, the Admiral remarks that many Spaniards of these islands (*hombres honrados*) swear that each year they see land; and he remembers how in the year 1484 some one came from the island of Madeira to the king of Portugal to beg a caravel to go and discover that land which he declared he saw each year, and in the same manner.† Had not the Admiral been conscious of the substantial

* Los ocho fuí traído en disputas, y en fin se dió mi aviso por causa de burla.—*Navarrete*, Col. vol. 2, p. 254.

† *Navarrete*, Col. vol. 1, p. 5.

originality of his proceedings, he would hardly have been so careful to collect these scattered notices which might afterwards be used, as many like them were used, to depreciate that originality. There is no further entry in the diary until the 6th of September, when they set out from Gomera (one of the Canary Islands) on their unknown way. For many days, what we have of the diary is little more than a log-book giving the rate of sailing, or rather two rates, one for Columbus's own private heed, and the other for the sailors. For instance, when they go sixty leagues in a day and night, it is put down at forty eight for the sailors. On the 13th of September, it is noted that the needle declined in the evening to the north-west, and on the ensuing morning to the north-east—the first time that such a variation had been observed or, at least, recorded by Europeans. On the 14th, the sailors of the Caravel Niña saw two tropical birds, which they said were never wont to be seen at more than fifteen or twenty leagues from shore. On the 15th, they all saw a meteor fall from heaven, which made them very sad. On the 16th they first came upon those immense plains of seaweed, (the “fucus natans”) which constitute the Mar de Sargasso, and which, according to Humboldt, occupy a space in the Atlantic almost equal

to seven times the extent of France.* The aspect of these plains terrified the sailors greatly, who thought they might be coming upon submerged lands and rocks; but finding that the vessels cut their way well through this sea-weed, the sailors thereupon took heart. On the 17th, they see more of these plains of sea-weed, and thinking themselves to be near land, they are almost in good spirits, when finding that the needle declined to the west a whole point of the compass and more, their hopes suddenly sank again: they began to "murmur between their teeth," and to wonder whether they were not in another world. However Columbus orders an observation to be taken at day break, when the needle is found to point to the north again; and he has forthwith an ingenious theory to account for the phenomenon of its variation which had so disturbed the sailors; namely, that it was caused by the north star moving round the pole. The sailors are, therefore, quieted upon this head. In the morning of the same day they catch a crab, from which Columbus infers that they cannot be more than eighty leagues distant from land. The 18th, they see many birds, and a cloud in the

* Humboldt's Kosmos, vol. 2, p. 287.

distance; and that night expect to see land. On the 19th, in the morning, comes a pelican; in the evening another; birds not usually seen twenty leagues from the coast: also drizzling rain without wind, a certain sign, as the diary says, of proximity to land. However the Admiral will not beat about for land, as he concludes that the land which these various signs give token of, can only be islands, as indeed they were. He will see them on his return: but now he must press on to the Indies.* This resolution shows his great mind, and the scientific conclusion he had come to.

He is not to be diverted from the main design by any partial success, though by this time he knew well the fears of his men, some of whom, according to the account of Herrera, had already come to the conclusion "that it would be their best plan to throw him quietly into the sea, and say he unfortunately fell in while he stood abashed in looking at the stars" (*embebido en considerar las estrellas.*) Indeed, three days after he had resolved to pass on to the Indies, we find him

* Mas de que tuvo por cierto que á la banda del Norte y del Sur habia algunas islas, como en la verdad lo estaban y él iba por medio dellas; porque su voluntad era de seguir adelante hasta las Indias, y el tiempo es bueno, porque placiendo á Dios á la vuelta se veria todo: estas son sus palabras. *Navarrete, Col. vol. 1, p. 11.*

saying, for Las Casas gives his words, "very needful for me was this contrary wind, for the people were very much tormented with the idea that there were no winds on these seas that could take them back to Spain."

On they go, having signs occasionally in the presence of birds and grass and fish that land must be near; but land does not come. Once, too, they are all convinced that they see land: they sing the "gloria in excelsis:" and even the Admiral goes out of his course towards this land which turns out to be no land. They are like men listening to a terrible discourse, or oration, that seems to have many endings which end not: so that the hearer at last listens in grim despair, thinking that all things have lost their meaning, and that ending is but another form of beginning.

These mariners were stout-hearted, too: but what a thing it was to plunge, down-hill as it were, into a new world of waters, mocked day by day with signs of land that neared not. And these men had wives and sweethearts at home, and did not bring out with them any great idea to uphold them, and had already done enough to make them great men in their towns, and to furnish ample talk for the evenings of their lives.

Still we find Columbus, as late as the 3rd of October, saying, "that he did not choose to stop beating about last week during those days that they had such signs of land, although he had knowledge of there being certain islands in that neighbourhood, because he would not suffer any detention, since his object was to go to the Indies: and if he should stop on the way, he says it would show a want of brains."*

Meanwhile he had a hard task to keep his men in any order. Peter Martyr, who knew Columbus well, and probably had had a special account from him of these perilous days, describes his way of dealing with the refractory mariners, and how he contrived to get them on from day to day; now soothing them with soft words, now carrying their minds from thought of the present danger by spreading out large hopes before them, not forgetting to let them know what their princes would say to them if they attempted aught against him, or would not obey his orders.† With this

* *Navarrete*, Col. v, 1, p. 16.

† Post trigésimum jam diem furore perciti, proclamabant, ut reducerentur: nè ulterius procederet, stimulabant hominem: ipse verò, blandis modò verbis, amplà spe modò, diem ex die protrahens, iratos mulcebat, deposcebat: proditiōnis quoquè taxandos esse à regibus, si adversi quicquam in eum molirentur, et si parere recusarent, predicabat.—*Peter Martyr*, dec. 1, l. 1.

Babel of wild, frightened men around him, with mocking hopes, not knowing what each day would bring to him, on went Columbus. At last comes the 11th of October, and with it indubitable signs of land. The diary mentions their finding on that day a table board and a carved stick, the carving apparently wrought by some iron instrument. Herrera mentions also that the men in one of the vessels saw a branch of a haw tree with fruit on it. Now, indeed, they must be close to land. The sun goes down upon the same weary round of waters which for so long a time their eyes had ached to see beyond, when at ten o'clock, Columbus, standing on the poop of his vessel, saw a light, and called to him, privately, Pedro Gutierrez, who saw it also. Then they called Rodrigo Sanchez, who had been sent by their Highnesses as overlooker; I fancy him the sort of dry little man sent by Dutch or Venetian states to accompany and curb great generals, and who are generally anything but loved by them. Sanchez did not see the light at first, because, as Columbus says, he did not stand in the place where it could be seen, but at last even he sees it: and it may now be considered to have been seen officially. "It appeared like a candle that
"went up and down, and Don Christopher did

Columbus
sees a light
on land.

“ not doubt that it was true light, (no will-of-the-wisp) and was on land : and so it was, as it came from people passing with lights from one cottage to another.”*

We cannot but be sorry for a poor common sailor, Rodrigo de Triana, who saw the light just a little too late, got no reward, and of whom they tell a story, that in sadness and despite, after his return to Spain, he passed into Africa, and became a Mahometan. The award was adjudged to the Admiral : it was charged on the shambles (*carnicerias*) of Seville, and was always paid to the Admiral to the day of his death : for, says the historian Herrera,

“ he saw light in the midst of darkness, signifying the
 “ spiritual light which was introduced amongst these
 “ barbarous people, God permitting that the war being
 “ finished with the Moors, seven hundred and twenty
 “ years after they had set foot in Spain, this work (the
 “ conversion of the Indians) should commence, so that
 “ the princes of Castile and Leon should always be occupied in bringing infidels to the knowledge of the
 “ Holy Catholic Faith.”†

These last words are notable. It is the very

* Herrera, dec. 1, lib. 1, cap. 12.

† Ibid.

account that Columbus himself would probably have given of the matter. In the preface to his diary, which is an address to Ferdinand and Isabella, he speaks at large (and Las Casas gives the Admiral's own words) of the motives of their Highnesses. He says how the Grand Can had sent ambassadors to the pope, praying for doctors to instruct him in the faith. He speaks of the expulsion of the Jews, probably intimating that that was also a proof of the devout intentions of their Highnesses. And, indeed, he ascribes no motive to the monarchs but religious ones.

“Your highnesses as Catholic Christians and princes, lovers and furtherers of the Christian faith, and enemies of the sect of Mahomet, and of all idolatries and heresies, thought to send me, Christopher Columbus, to the aforesaid provinces of India to see the aforesaid princes, the cities and lands, and the disposition of them and of every thing about them, and the way that should be taken to convert them to the sacred faith.”*

* Vuestas Altezas, como católicos cristianos y Príncipes amantes de la santa fé cristiana y acrecentadores della, y enemigos de la secta de Mahoma y de todas idolatrías y heregías, pensaron de enviarme á mi Cristóbal Colon á las dichas partidas de India para ver los dichos príncipes, y los pueblos y tierras, y la disposición dellas y de todo, y la manera que se pudiera tener para la conversion dellas á nuestra santa fé.—*Navarrete*, v. 1, p. 2.

The diary to which this address was prefixed is probably one of the books which their highnesses allude to in a letter to Columbus, as in their possession, and which they say they have shown to nobody. I see no reason to doubt the good faith of the words of Columbus in this matter : and it is well to dwell upon them, because we shall never come to a right understanding of these times and of the question of slavery as connected with them, unless we fully appreciate the good as well as the bad motives which guided the first and most important persons of the time.

As for Isabella, there can be no doubt about her motives. Even in the lamentably unjust things in which she was too often concerned, she had what to her mind was compelling reason to act as she did. Perhaps there is no one who ever lived to whom so much evil may be traced, all done, or rather permitted, upon the highest and purest motives. Whether we refer to the expulsion of the Jews, the treatment of the Moorish converts, or the establishment of the Inquisition ; all her proceedings in these matters were entirely sincere and noble-minded. Methinks I can still see her beautiful, majestic face, (with broad brow and clear, honest, loving eye,) as it looks upon us from one of the chapels in the cathedral

at Granada; too expressive and individual to be what painters give as an angel, and yet the next thing to it. Now she looks down reproachfully, and yet with conscious sadness. I know what you would say, fair woman; that you obeyed the voice of Heaven—taking priests as its interpreters. Oh! that you had but listened to it, as it spoke in your own kindly heart, when with womanly pity you were wont to intercede in favour of the poor cooped-up inmates of some closely beleaguered town or fortress. But at least the poor Indian can utter naught but blessings on you. He might have needed no other ‘protector’ had you lived: nor would slavery have found in his fate one of the darkest chapters in its history.

But we must away from Granada, and our fancies there, to San Salvador, the first land touched by Columbus. He is for the present moment all triumph. Our interest passes now from him to the new people we are amongst. And what are they like? Are they worthy of the efforts we have made to see them? Is there mind and soul enough in them, for them to be made Christians of? What says the greatest of the men who first saw them? What impression did they make on him? Let him answer for himself.

" Because they had much friendship for us, and be-
 " cause I knew they were people that would deliver
 " themselves better to the Christian faith, and be con-
 " verted more through love than by force ; I gave to
 " some of them some coloured caps and some strings of
 " glass beads for their necks, and many other things of
 " little value, with which they were delighted, and were
 " so entirely ours that it was a marvel to see. The
 " same afterwards came swimming to the ships' boats
 " where we were, and brought us parrots, cotton threads
 " in balls, darts and many other things, and bartered
 " them with us for things which we gave them, such as
 " bells and small glass beads. In fine they took and
 " gave all of whatever they had with good will. But
 " it appeared to me they were a people very poor in
 " everything. They went totally naked, as naked as
 " their mothers brought them into the world."*

Then Columbus goes on to say they were well
 made, with very good faces, but hair like horsehair,
 their colour yellow ; and that they painted them-
 selves. They neither carried arms nor understood
 such things ; for when he showed them swords,
 they took hold of them by the blade and hurt
 themselves. Their darts were without iron ; but
 some had a fish's tooth at the end. In concluding
 his description he says, " they ought to make

* Navarrete, Col. vol. 1, p. 21.

Character
of Indians.

“ faithful servants and of good understanding,
“ for I see that very quickly they repeat all that
“ is said to them ; and I believe they would easily
“ be converted to Christianity, for it appeared to
“ me that they had no creed.”

A little further on, the Admiral says of the people of a neighbouring island, that they were more domestic and tractable than those of San Salvador and Santa Maria, and cleverer too, as he saw in their way of reckoning for the payment of the cotton they brought to the ships. At the Rio de Mares some of the Admiral's men whom he had sent to reconnoitre, bring him word that the houses of the natives were the best they had seen. They were made like

“ alfaneques, (pavilions) very large, and appeared as
“ royal tents without an arrangement of streets, except
“ one here and there, and within they were very clean,
“ and well swept, and their fittings in good taste. All
“ these houses were made of palm branches and were
“ very beautiful. Our men found in these houses many
“ statues of women, and several casts very well worked.
“ I do not know whether they have these for the love
“ of the beautiful or for purposes of worship.”*

* Eran hechas á manera de alfaneques, muy grandes, y parecian tiendas en real sin concierto de calles, sino una acá y otra acullá, y de dentro muy barridas y limpias, y sus aderezos muy

They found also excellent nets, fish-hooks and fishing tackle. There were tame birds, too, about the houses, and dogs which did not bark. The Admiral, speaking of the Indians, in another place says that they are "very gentle, without knowing what evil is, neither killing nor stealing."†

But we must resume our history, and see what Columbus did and suffered in this first voyage of his. The first Indians he meets with have some few gold ornaments about them—poor wretches, if they could but have had the gift of prophecy, they would have thrown them into the nethermost sea!—they are asked whence comes this gold. From a race, they say, living southwards, where there was a great king, who had much gold. On another occasion, other Indians being asked the same question, answer, "Cubanacan, Cubanacan." They meant the middle of Cuba; but Columbus goes off immediately upon the idea that he is now upon the traces of his

compuestos. Todas son de ramas de palma muy hermosas. Hal-laron muchas estatuas en figura de mugeres, y muchas cabezas en manera de caratona muy bien labradas. No se si esto tienen por hermosura ó adoran en ellas.—*Navarrete*, Col. vol. 1, p. 42.

† Muy mansos, y sin saber que sea mal, ni matar á otros, ni prender.—*Navarrete*, vol. 1, p. 53.

long looked-for friend, the Grand Can. Indeed it is droll to see throughout, how Columbus is possessed with his old Marco Polo notions. He asks for "his Cipango," as Herrera flyly puts it; the natives at once point out to him the direction where that is. They think he means Cibao, where afterwards the best mines of gold were found. The Admiral, bent on discovery, and especially on getting to the terra firma, does not stay long anywhere. He discovers Cuba, and afterwards Hispaniola, and comes there to the country of King Guacanagari, where he is received most cordially.

It may be mentioned here, that Martin Alonzo Pinzon had wilfully parted company from the Admiral while on the coast of Cuba: unbridled covetousness was probably the cause of this most undutiful proceeding. And we are now going to have another proof of the insubordination of the mariners under Columbus; which makes us only wonder more how he could have got them across the Atlantic at all. One evening the admiral, after paying a visit to Guacanagari, seeing the sea quite calm, betook himself to rest. As he had not slept for two days and a night, it is probable his slumber was deep. Meanwhile the

steersman, contrary to the distinct orders of the Admiral, gives the helm to a common sailor, a youth. All of the sailors go to sleep. The sea is as calm "as water in a dish," says Columbus. Little by little the ship is drifted on to a shoal. Directly they touch, the sailor-boy at the helm starts from his dream, haply about his mother, and cries out : the Admiral jumps up first, (for the responsibility of command seldom goes quite to sleep) then the officer whose watch it ought to have been, hurries up and the Admiral orders him to lower the boat which they carried on the poop and throw out an anchor astern. Instead of obeying the Admiral, this cowardly villain, with others like him, jumped into the boat and made off for the other vessel, which was about half a league off. The other vessel would not receive them and they rowed back again. But it was too late. The Admiral did what he could : he cut down the mast, lightened the vessel as best he might, took out his people and went with them to the other vessel, sending his boat to Guacanagari to tell of the misfortune. The good Guacanagari was moved to tears by this sad affair. He not only gives sympathy, however, but assistance. His people go out in canoes, and in a moment clear the vessel of all the goods in it.

Columbus
is ship-
wrecked

Guacanagari is very careful that nothing should be lost. He himself stands guard over the things taken out of the ship. He sends comforting messages to the Admiral, saying that he would give him what he had to make up for the loss. He puts all the effects under shelter and places guards round them. The Admiral, as well he might be, is evidently touched to the heart by the kindness of these Indians. He goes on to say, "they are a loving, uncovetous people, so docile in all things, that I assure your Highnesses that I believe in all the world there is not a better people, or a better country: they love their neighbours as themselves, and they have the sweetest and gentlest way of talking in the world, and always with a smile."*

Character
of the In-
dians.

The Admiral resolves to found a colony in Guacanagari's land, "having found such good will and such signs of gold,"† Upon this our Spanish historian, Herrera, makes some curious reflections. He looks upon the loss of the vessel

* Son gente de amor y sin codicia, y convenientes para toda cosa, que certifico á vuestras Altezas que en el mundo creo que no hay mejor gente ni mejor tierra: ellos aman á sus prójimos como á sí mismos, y tienen una habla la mas dulce del mundo, y mansa, y siempre con risa—*Navarrete*, Col. vol. 1, p. 113.

† Herrera, dec. 1, lib. 1, c. 18.

as providential, in order that the true faith might be preached in that country. Then he says how Providence not only causes his work to be done on high motives, but also on the ordinary ones which influence mankind. Then he concludes by saying that Providence dealt with the Spaniards and the Indians as a prudent father who has an ugly daughter, but makes up for her ugliness by the help of a good dowry. By the ugliness in this case he means the seas to be traversed, the hunger to be endured, and the labours to be undertaken, which he considers no other nation but the Spaniards would have encountered, even with the hope of greater booty. There we may venture to differ from him.

Columbus builds a fort and calls it La Navidad because he entered the port near there on Christmas-day. He remains on very friendly terms with the good cacique Guacanagari; and might have established himself very comfortably in that part of the country, if he could have been content to be a settler. But from the first moment of his discovery, he, doubtless, had an anxious desire to get back to Spain and tell what he knew; and at times, perhaps, was fearful lest his great secret, through some mischance to the

Columbus
builds a
fort.

expedition, should still perish with him. Our great discoverer must now, therefore, think about returning homewards. He mans his fort with thirty-nine men, commends his people to Guacanagari, gives them excellent advice—to do no violence to man or woman, and, in short, to make their actions conformable to the idea (which the Indians first entertained of them) that they had come from heaven—then, having received the necessary provisions for his vessel from Guacanagari, the Admiral sets sail for Spain the fourth of January, 1493.

CHAPTER IV.

ADMINISTRATION OF COLUMBUS IN THE INDIES.

S we are not investigating the life of Columbus, we need not go into any of the minor discoveries which he made after leaving La Navidad, or the troubles and difficulties he had on his voyage homewards; or his reception at Lisbon, where he was obliged to take refuge from a storm, and where, displaying the signs of a new world at a court which had refused the discovery, must have been almost too much of a triumph for a generous mind. Suffice it to say, that he arrived at Palos, the port he had set out from, on the 15th March, 1493, and forthwith commenced his journey to Barcelona where the court then was. Herrera tells us that the Admiral now “entered into the greatest reputation,” and the historian goes on to explain to his readers what the meaning of “reputation” is. It does not consist, he tells us, in success,

1493.

but in doing something which cannot be easily comprehended, which compels men to think over and over again upon it.* And certainly, this definition makes the word particularly applicable to the achievement of Columbus.

The Court
welcomes
back Co-
lumbus.

The court prepared a solemn reception for the Admiral at Barcelona where, as we are told, the people poured out in such numbers that the streets could not contain them. A triumphal procession like his the world had not seen: it was a thing to make the most incurious alert, and even the sad and solitary student content to come out and mingle with the mob. The captives that went before a Roman general's car might be strange barbarians, of a tribe from which Rome had not yet had slaves. But barbarians were not unknown creatures. Here, with Columbus, were beings of a new world. Imagine the rumours that must have gone before his coming. And now he is here. Ferdinand and Isabella have their thrones placed in the presence of the assembled multitude. Columbus approaches, with a face full of modest smiles, ("*modesta risa*,") kneels at the King's feet, and begs to kiss their Highnesses' hands. They give their hands; then they bid him rise and be

* Herrera, dec. 1, lib. 2, cap. 3.

seated before them. He recounts, briefly, the events of his voyage—a story more interesting than the tale told by Æneas in Dido's court—and he concludes by showing what new things and creatures he has brought.

Ferdinand and Isabella fall on their knees, giving thanks to God with many tears; and the choristers of the royal chapel close the grand ceremonial by singing the *Te Deum*. Afterwards men walk home grave and yet happy, having seen the symbol of a great work: something to be thought over for many an age.

Other marks of approbation for Columbus are not wanting. The agreement between him and Los Reyes, (Ferdinand and Isabella may as well be, henceforth, called by us Los Reyes, as they are in the histories of that time) is confirmed. He gets a coat of arms, then a thing of some meaning and substance. He rides by the king's side; is served at table as a Grandee; "all hail" is said to him on state occasions: and the men of his age, happy in that, have found out another great man to honour.

The more prosaic part of the business has now to be attended to. Los Reyes apply to the pope, Alexander the 6th, to confer on the Crowns of

The Pope
grants the
Indies to
Castile,
May,
1493.

Castile and Leon the lands discovered and to be discovered. They soon receive a favourable answer. The pope grants to the princes of Castile and Leon, and to their successors, the sovereign empire and principality of the Indies, and of the navigation there, with high and royal jurisdiction and imperial dignity and lordship over all that hemisphere. To preserve the peace between Spain and Portugal, the pontiff divides the Spanish and Portuguese Indian sovereignties, by an imaginary line drawn from pole to pole, one hundred leagues to the west of the Azores and the Cape de Verde islands.

Indians
are baptiz-
ed.

Meanwhile, the preparations for the Admiral's second voyage are going on. After the arrival of the apostolic bulls, and before the departure of Columbus from Barcelona, the nine Indians brought by him were baptized. Here, parenthetically, we may take note of something which, did the fact correspond with what the Spaniards thought, would indeed be notable. One of the Indians, after being baptized, dies; and is, we are told, the first of that nation, according to pious belief, who entered heaven.*

* Y porque ellos mismos pidieron el bautismo, quisieron los Reyes ofrecer a nuestro Señor las primicias desta gentilidad, y fueron padrinos, el Rey y el Principe don Juan su hijo: el qual

We cannot help thinking of good Guacanagari, and imagining, that if his race had been like him, some one might already have reached the regions of the blessed. I do not however refer to this passage of Herrera for its singularity, but because it brings before us again the profound import attached to baptism in those times, and may help to account, as has been noticed before, for many seeming inconsistencies in the conduct of the Spaniards to the Indians.

In the conduct, however, of Los Reyes towards the Indians, there is nothing equivocal; but all shows tenderness and religious care in these monarchs for their new subjects. The instructions which Columbus carries out in his second voyage, dated the 29th May, 1493, are the first strokes upon that obdurate mass of Colonial difficulty which at last by incessant working of great Princes, great Churchmen and great statesmen, is eventually to be hammered into some righteous form of wisdom and of mercy. The following are part of these instructions. They charge the Admiral by all possible ways to labour to bring the dwellers in

1493.

quiso, que uno de los Indios quedasse en su casa en su servicio, que no mucho despues murió, que segun piadosamente se deve creer, fue el primero que desta nacion entró en el cielo.—*Herrera*, dec. 1, lib. 2, cap. 5.

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the Indies to a knowledge of the sacred Catholic Faith. And that this may the easier be done, all the armada is to be charged to deal lovingly (*amorosamente*) with the Indians. The Admiral is to give them things and honour them much (*i los honre mucho*). And if by chance any person or persons should treat the Indians ill, in any manner whatever, the Admiral is to chastise such ill doers severely.* Their highnesses also sent out Father Buil, and other ecclesiastics to superintend the religious education of the Indians.

Destruction of La Navidad.

With these instructions, Columbus sets sail the 25th of September, 1493, having with him 17 vessels and 1500 men. After making various discoveries, which we need not trouble ourselves about, the Admiral arrives at Hispaniola, and finds his little colony at La Navidad entirely destroyed. The account of this which Guacanagari gives to Columbus, and which I see no reason for doubting, is that the Spaniards who had been left at La Navidad, took to evil courses, quarrelled amongst themselves, straggled about the country, and finally were set upon when weak and few in numbers, by a neighbouring Indian chief, named Caonabó, who burned the tower and dispersed or

* Navarrete, Coleccion Diplomatica, Num. XLV.

killed the Spaniards. None were ever found. Columbus builds another fort at another part of the island, and calls his new colony Isabella. He hears of the mines of Cibao and sends to reconnoitre them: the Indians, little foreseeing what is to come of it, give gold to the Spanish messengers who return with good signs of success. Columbus resolves to found a colony at Cibao.

At this period, January, 1494, Columbus sends home an account of the state of his colony. It is in the form of instructions to Antonio de Torres, the Receiver of the colony, who is to go and say to Los Reyes such things as are written in these instructions, and doubtless to elucidate them by discourse; as in the present day, we send a despatch to be read by an ambassador to the foreign minister of the power we are treating with. There remains a copy made at the time of this document, and of the notes in the margin containing the resolutions of Los Reyes. The original thus noted was taken back to Columbus. It is a most valuable document, very illustrative of the cautious and wise dealing of the Catholic Sovereigns. 1494.

The document begins with the proper respectful compliments. "*Their Highnesses hold it for good service*" is the marginal remark.

Instructions to Antonio de Torre

The next paragraph consists of a general statement about what has been discovered. "*Their Highnesses give much thanks to God, and hold as very honoured service all that the Admiral has done, &c.*"

Then follow the Admiral's reasons why he has not been able to send home more gold. His people have been ill; it was necessary to keep guard, &c. "*He has done well*" is in the margin. Then come more reasons—more approbation in the margin.

He suggests the building a fortress near the place where gold can be got. Their Highnesses approve; and the note in the margin is, "*This is well and so it must be done.*"

Then comes a paragraph about provisions, and a marginal order from Los Reyes "*that Juan de Fonseca is to provide for that matter.*"

Again there comes another paragraph about provisions, complaining amongst other things, that the casks in which the wine for the Armada had been put, were leaky. Their Highnesses make an order in the margin, "*that Juan de Fonseca is to find out the persons who played this cheat with the wine-casks, and to make good from their pockets the loss, and to see that the canes*" (sugar canes for planting I suppose) "*are good and that*

“all that is here asked for, should be provided immediately.”

So far nothing can run more pleasantly with the main document than the notes in the margin. Columbus now touches upon a matter which intimately concerns our subject. He desires Antonio de Torres to inform their Highnesses that he has sent home some Indians from the Cannibal islands as slaves, to be taught Castilian, and to serve afterwards as interpreters, so that the work of conversion may go on. His arguments in support of this proceeding are weighty. He speaks of the good that it will be to take these people away from Cannibalism, and to have them baptized, that so they will gain their souls, as he expresses it. Then, too, with regard to the other Indians, he says, we shall have great credit from them seeing that we can capture and make slaves of these Cannibals of whom they, the peaceable Indians, entertain so great a fear. Such arguments must be allowed to have much force in them; and it may be questioned whether many of those persons who are, in these days, the strongest opponents of slavery, would then have had that perception of the impending danger of it which Los Reyes appear to have entertained, from their answer to this part of the document. *“This is very well, and so*

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"it must be done; but let the Admiral see whether it could not be managed there," (i. e. in the Cannibal islands) *"that they should be brought to our sacred Catholic Faith, and the same thing with the Indians of those islands where he is."*

The Admiral's despatch in the next paragraph goes much further; he boldly suggests that for the advantage of the souls of these Cannibal Indians, the more of them that could be taken, the better; and that considering what quantities of live stock and other things were necessary for the maintenance of the Colony, a certain number of caravels should be sent each year with these necessary things, and the cargoes be paid for in slaves taken from amongst the Cannibals.* He touches again on the good that will be done to the Cannibals themselves; alludes to the Customs duties that their Highnesses may levy upon them; and concludes by desiring Antonio de Torres to send, or bring, an answer, "because the preparations here" (for capturing these cannibals) "may be made with more confidence, if the scheme seem good to their Highnesses."

A more distinct proposition for the establish-

* Las cuales cosas se les podrian pagar en esclavos de estos canibales. *Navarrete Coleccion*, vol. 1, p. 232.

ment of a slave trade was never made, though we must do Columbus the justice to believe that his motives were right in his own eyes. To their honour Los Reyes thus replied, "*As regards this matter, it is suspended for the present until there come some other way of doing it there, and let the Admiral write what he thinks of this.*"*

This is rather a confused answer, as often happens, when a proposition from a valued friend or servant, is disapproved of, but has to be rejected kindly. Los Reyes would be very glad to have some money: money was always welcome to Ferdinand: the paying for wine, seeds, and cattle for the colonists was anything but agreeable: the prospect of conversion was probably dear to the hearts of both of these Princes, certainly to one of them: but still this proposition for the establishment of slavery was wisely and magnanimously set aside.

While Antonio de Torres has been absent laying these things before Los Reyes, Columbus has been busy about the affairs of the colony, which are in a most distracted state. The number of men

* En este se ha suspendido por agora hasta que venga otro camino de allá, y escriba el Almirante lo que en esto le pareciere. *Navarrete Coleccion*, vol. 1, p. 233.

which the Admiral brought out with him was disproportioned to his means of sustaining them. Provisions and medicines began to fail; sickness pervaded the whole armament; and men of all ranks and stations, hidalgos, people of the court and ecclesiastics, were all obliged to work manually under regulations strictly enforced. The rage and vexation of these men, many of whom had come out with the notion of finding gold ready for them on the sea shore, may be imagined; and complaints of Columbus's harsh way of dealing with those under him (probably not one whit harsher than was absolutely necessary to save them) now took their rise and pursued him ever after to his ruin. The colonists were somewhat cheered at this time by hearing of gold mines and seeing specimens of ore brought from thence; and the Admiral went himself and founded the Fort of St. Thomas in the mining district of Cibao. But the Spanish colonists gained very little real advantage from these gold mines, which they began working at before they had consolidated around them the means of living: in fact dealing with the mines in Hispaniola, as if they had been found out in an old country and that there was nothing to do but to work them.

Folly in
working
mines too
soon.

There was also another idea and perhaps quite

as mischievous a one, which stood in the way of the steady improvement of these early Spanish colonies. The Catholic Sovereigns had unfortunately impressed upon Columbus their wish that he should devote himself to further discovery, a wish but too readily furthered by his enterprising spirit. The hankering of Los Reyes for further discovery was fostered by their jealousy of the Portuguese. The Portuguese were discovering India, going eastward. They, the Spaniards, thought they were discovering India, going westward. The more rapidly, therefore, each nation could advance and plant its standard, the more of much-coveted India it would be able to claim. Acting upon such views, Columbus now goes upon further discovery, notwithstanding his little colonies at Isabella and St. Thomas must have needed all his authority and sagacity to protect and restrain them. He nominates a council to manage the government during his absence, with his brother Don Diego as President of it; he appoints Don Pedro Margarite Captain-General; and then puts to sea, the 24th April, 1494.

In the course of the voyage that then ensued, the Admiral made many important discoveries, amongst them Cuba, Jamaica, and the cluster of little islands called the "Garden of the Queen." 1494.

Rage for
further
discovery

Cuba and
Jamaica
discovered

The navigation amongst these islands was so difficult, that the Admiral is said to have been thirty two days without sleeping. Certain it is, that after he had left the island called La Mona, and when he was approaching the island of San Juan, a drowfiness which Las Cafas calls "pestilential," but which might be just as well attributed to the privations, cares, and anxieties that the Admiral had now undergone for many months, seized upon him and entirely deprived him of the use of his senses.*

His object in going to San Juan was to have captured Cannibals there ; and Las Cafas looks upon this lethargical attack as a judgment upon the Admiral for so unjust a manner of endeavouring to introduce Christianity. The mariners turned the fleet homewards to Isabella where they arrived the 29th September, 1494, bearing with them their helpless chief.

On Columbus's arrival at Isabella, where he remained ill for five months, he found his brother Bartholomew Columbus, which gladdened him much : for his brothers were very near and dear

* Le dió una modorra pestilencial, que totalmente le quitó el uso de los sentidos, y todas las fuerzas, y quedo muerto, y no pensaron que un día durara. *Las Cafas. Hist. de las Indias. MSS. lib. 1, cap. 99.*

to him ; and I recollect that on some occasion he tells his eldest son Diego to make much of his brother Ferdinand ; for, says he, I have never found better friends, “ on my right hand and on “ my left,” than my brothers. Afterwards came Antonio de Torres with provisions and all things needful. But nothing, we are told, delighted the Admiral so much as the despatches from the Court : for he was a faithful, loyal man, who loved to do his duty to those who employed him, and to have his faithfulness recognised. Peace or delight, however, was not at any time to be long enjoyed by the Admiral, for he finds his colony in a sad state of disorganization, the Indians in arms against the Spaniards, and Father Buil, Don Pedro Margarite and other principal persons gone home to Spain in the ships which had brought Bartholomew Columbus.

The Admiral, before his departure, had given a most injudicious command to Margarite to put himself at the head of 400 men and go through the Country, with the double object of impressing the natives with respect for the power of the Spaniards and of freeing the colony from supporting these 400 men. Columbus's instructions to Margarite were, to observe the people and the natural productions of the country through

which he should pass: to keep the troop in three divisions, to do rigorous justice in order to prevent the Spaniards from injuring the Indians, or the Indians the Spaniards, to treat the Indians kindly, to get provisions by purchase if possible, if not, by any other means they could, and to capture Caonabó and his brothers either by force or artifice.*

The doings of the men under Margarite were similar to those of the Spaniards formerly left at La Navidad. They went straggling over the country; they consumed the provisions of the poor Indians, astonishing them by their voracious appetites; waste, rapine, injury and insult followed in their steps; and from henceforth there is but little hope of the two races living peaceably together, at least upon equal terms. The Indians were now swarming about the Spaniards with hostile intent; as Muñoz well says "they had "passed from terror to despair:"† and but for the opportune arrival of the Admiral, the Spanish

* Munoz. Hist. del. Nuevo-Mundo, lib. 5, cap. 10.

† Crecen las insolencias hasta el punto de hacerse intolerables á los vecinos de la Vega. Los soldados, sin cabeza que los adune y contenga, corren divididos por varias partes, entregándose á quanto les dicta la necesidad, la pasión, y el antojo. Cansados de sufrir los miserables Indios pasan del terror á la desesperacion. Muñoz. Hist. del. Nuevo-Mundo, lib. 5, sec. 25.

settlements in Hispaniola might again have been entirely swept away.

Caonabó, the Cacique who in former days had put to death the garrison at La Navidad, was now threatening that of St. Thomas, a fort which the Admiral had caused to be built in the mining district of Cibao. Guatiguaná, the Cacique of Macorix, who had killed eight Spanish soldiers and set fire to a house where there were forty ill, was now within two days' march of Isabella, besieging the fort Magdalena. Columbus started up forthwith, went off to Magdalena, did battle with the Indians and routed them utterly. He took a large part of them for slaves, and reduced to obedience the whole of the province of Macorix. Returning to Isabella, he sent back, the 24th February, 1495, the four ships which Antonio de Torres had brought out, chiefly laden with Indian slaves. It is rather remarkable that the very ships which brought that admirable reply of Los Reyes to Columbus, begging him to seek some other way to Christianity than through slavery, even for wild man-eating Caribs, should come back full of slaves taken from amongst the mild islanders of Hispaniola.

First batt
of Colum
bus with
the In-
dians.

Caonabó, not daunted by the fate of Guatiguaná,

still continued to molest St. Thomas. The Admiral accordingly sallied out with two hundred men against this Cacique. On the broad plains of the Vega Real the Spaniards found an immense number of Indians collected together, amounting, it is said, to one hundred thousand men. The Admiral divided his forces into two bands, giving the command of one to his brother Bartholomew, and leading the other himself: and when the brothers made an attack upon the Indians at the same time from different quarters, this numerous host was at once and utterly put to flight. In speaking of such a defeat, we must not be lavish of the words "cowardly," "pusillanimous," and the like, till we have well considered what it is to expose naked bodies to fire-arms, to the charge of steel-clad men on horseback, and fierce dogs. A "horrible carnage" ensued upon the flight of the Indians. Many were taken alive and condemned to slavery.* Caonabó, however, who was besieging the fortress of St. Thomas at the time of the battle on the Vega Real, remained untaken. The Admiral resolved to get hold of this Cacique by treachery; and sent Ojeda to coax

* Muñoz. Hist. del. Nuevo-Mundo. lib. 5, cap. 27.

Caonabó to come to a friendly meeting. There are some curious instructions of Columbus's to Margarite in 1494,* respecting a plot to take this formidable Caonabó. They are as thoroughly base and treacherous as can well be imagined. This time they were completely successful. The story which was current in the Colonies, of the manner in which Ojeda captured the resolute Indian Chief, is this. Ojeda carried with him gyves and manacles, the latter of the kind called by the Spaniards somewhat irreverently *esposas* (wives), and all made of brass finely wrought and highly polished. The metals of Spain were prized by the Indians in the same way that the gold of the Indies was by the Spaniards. Moreover, amongst the Indians, there was a strange rumour of talking brass, which was nothing more than the Church-bell at Isabella which, summoning the Spaniards to mass, was thought by the simple Indians to converse with them. When, therefore, Ojeda brought these ornaments to Caonabó and told him they were made of brass of Biscay, and that they were a great present from the Admiral, and that he would show him how to put them on,

* Navarrete, Col. Doc. Dip. Núm. LXXII.

and that when they were put on, Caonabó should fet himself on Ojeda's horse and be shown to his admiring subjects, as Ojeda said, the kings of Spain were wont to show themselves to theirs; the incautious Indian is said to have fallen entirely into the trap. Going with Ojeda, accompanied by only a small escort, to a river a short distance from his main encampment, Caonabó, after performing ablutions, suffered the crafty young Spaniard to put the fetters on him and to fet him upon the horse. Ojeda himself got up behind the Indian prince, and then whirling a few times round, like a pigeon before it takes its determined flight, making the followers of Caonabó imagine that this was but display, they all the while keeping at a respectful distance from the horse, an animal they much dreaded, Ojeda darted off for Isabella; and after great fatigues, now keeping to the main track, now traversing the mountain paths in order to evade pursuit, brought Caonabó bound into the presence of Columbus. The unfortunate Cacique was sent to Spain to be judged there; and his forces were afterwards put to flight by a troop of Spaniards under the command of this same Ojeda. Some were killed; some taken prisoners; some fled to the mountains; some yielded " offering themselves to the service

Caonabó
is captured.

“ of the Christians if they would allow them to
 “ live in their own ways.”*

Never, perhaps, were little skirmishes, for such they were on the part of the Spaniards, of greater permanent importance than those we have just been reading of, which took place in the early part of the year 1495. They must be looked upon as the origin in the Indies of slavery, vassalage, and the system of *repartimientos*. We have seen that the Admiral after his first victory sent off four ships with slaves to Spain. He now took occasion to impose a tribute upon the whole population of Hispaniola. Those Indians above 14 years old, who were in, or near to, the provinces of the Mines, were to pay every three months a little bell-full of gold; all other persons in the island were, each, to pay at the same time an arroba of cotton. Certain brass or copper tokens were made—different ones for each tribute time—and were given to the Indians as they paid tribute; and these tokens being worn about their necks were to shew who had paid tribute.† A remarkable proposal was made upon

1495.

Tribute
 imposed
 upon the
 Indians of
 Hispanio
 la.

* Ofreciéndose al servicio de los christianos si les permiten vivir en su naturaleza. *Muñoz. Hist. del Nuevo Mundo*, lib. 5, cap. 29.

† Herrera, dec. 1, lib. 2, cap. 17.

this occasion to the Admiral by Guarionéx, Cacique of the Vega Real, namely that he would make a huge farm for the manufacture of bread, stretching from Isabella to St. Domingo (i. e. from sea to sea) which would suffice to maintain all Castile with bread. The Cacique would do this on condition that his vassals were not to pay tribute in gold, for they did not know how to collect that. But this proposal was not accepted, as Columbus wished to have tribute in such things as he could send over to Spain.*

This tribute is said to have been a most unreasonable one in point of amount; † and Columbus was obliged to modify his demands upon these poor Indians, and in some instances to change the nature of them, for we find that in 1496, service instead of tribute was demanded of certain Indian villages: as they were ordered to make the farms

* Ofreció Guarionex Rey de la gran Vega Real al Almirante que le haria una labrança de pan, que llegasse desde la Yfabela hasta santo Domingo, que es de mar a mar, y ay buenas cinquenta y cinco leguas de camino, con lo qual bastaria a mäterner de pan a toda Castilla, con que no le pidieffe oro, porque sus vassalos no lo sabian coger, pero como el Almirante era forastero, solo y desfavorecido de los ministros de los Reyes Catolicos, y como prudēte conocia, que lo que le auia de conseruar, eran las riquezas que embiasse, dauase prissa por el oro. *Herrera*, dec. 1, lib. 2, cap. 17.

† Contribucion durísima, y ordenada con suma ligereza. *Munoz*, lib. 5, cap. 30.

in the Spanish settlements*—which may be considered as the beginning of the system of *repartimientos*, or *encomiendas* as they were afterwards called.

We must not, however, suppose that Indian slavery would not have taken place even if these uprisings and defeats of the Indians in the course of the year 1495 had never occurred. Very early indeed we see what the views of Columbus were with regard to the Indians. In the diary which he kept of his first voyage, on the 14th of October, three days after discovering the New World, he describes a position which he thinks would be a very good one for a fort; and he goes on to say, “ I do not think that it (the fort) “ will be necessary, for this people is very simple “ in the use of arms (as your Highnesses will see “ from seven of them that I have taken in order “ to bring them to you, to learn our language “ and afterwards to take them back) so that when

* Antes que se fuese a Castilla el Almirante, el año de. 1496. por el mes de Março o poco despues de partido, en lugar de los tributos se impuso a algunos pueblos, que tuuiesen cuydado de hazer las labranças de las poblaciones de los Castellanos, a imitacion de lo que vsauan con sus Caziques. *Herrera*, dec. 1, lib. 3, cap. 13.

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“ your Highnesses command, you can have them
“ all taken to Castile or kept in the island as cap-
“ tives.”*

Columbus was not an avaricious nor a cruel man; and certainly a very pious one; but he had been brought up on the coast of Africa, and was accustomed to a slave trade. Moreover he was anxious to reduce the expenses of these Indian possessions to the Catholic Sovereigns, to prove himself in the right as to all he had said respecting the advantages that would flow to Spain from the Indies, and to confute his enemies at Court.

We shall naturally be curious to know how the news of these vessels laden with slaves, the fruit of the Admiral's first victory over the Indians, was received by Los Reyes, recollecting how tender they had been about slavery before. This is a very different case though from the former. Here are people taken in what would be called rebellion—prisoners of war. Still we must be glad to find that Ferdinand and Isabella are heedful in their proceedings in this matter. There is a letter of theirs to Bishop Fonseca, who still managed Indian affairs, telling him to withhold receiving the money for the sale of these Indians

* Navarrete, Col. vol. 1, p. 24.

that Torres had brought with him, until their Highnesses should be able to inform themselves from men learned in the law, theologians and canonists, whether with a good conscience these Indians could be ordered to be sold or not.* The historian, Muñoz, says that he does not find that the point was decided; and if he has failed, we are not likely to discover any direct evidence about the decision. We shall hereafter, however, find something which may enable us to conjecture what the decision had practically come to be.

The so-called free Indians in Hispaniola had many of them perhaps even a worse fate than their brethren condemned to slavery. Seeing the Spaniards quietly settling down there, building houses, and making forts, and no vessels in the harbour of Isabella to take them away, the profoundest sadness fell upon the Indians, and they bethought them of the desperate remedy of attempting to starve the Spaniards out, by not sowing or planting anything. But this is a shallow device when undertaken on the part of the greater number, in any country, against the smaller. The scheme reacted upon themselves. They had intended to gain a

* Porque Nos queriamos informarnos de letrados, Teologos e Canonistas, si con buena conciencia se pueden vender estos por solo vos ó no. *Navarrete*, Col. Dip. Doc. Núm. xcii.

secure though scanty sustenance in the hills ; but though the Spaniards suffered bitterly from famine, they were only driven by it to further pursuit and molestation of the Indians who died then in great numbers of hunger, sickness, and misery.

Commis-
sioner of
enquiry
sent to the
Indies.

About this period there arrived in the Indies from the Court of Spain a Commissioner of enquiry (*Juez pesquisidor*) his mission being doubtless occasioned by the various complaints made against the Admiral by Father Buil, Margarite, and the Spaniards who had returned from Hispaniola. The name of this Commissioner was Juan Aguado and his powers were vouched for by the following letter from Los Reyes.

“ THE KING AND THE QUEEN.

“ *Cavaliers, Esquires and other persons who by
our command are in the Indies : we send you
there Juan Aguado our Steward, who will speak
to you on our part : we command that you give
him faith and credence.*

“ *I the King : I the Queen.*

“ *By command of the King and Queen, our Lords.*

“ HERNAND ALVAREZ.

“ *Madrid the ninth of April, one thousand four
hundred and ninety five.*”

Juan Aguado arrived at Isabella in October 1495, and his proceedings there, together with the fear of what he might report on his return, quickened the Admiral's desire to return to Court that he might fight his own battles there, himself. Leaving, therefore, his brother Bartholomew as Lieutenant Governor, (*Adelantado*) the Admiral left Isabella on the 10th of March, 1496, and anchored in the Bay of Cadiz the 11th of June in that year. He proceeded to Burgos, where the Court then was, and appears to have been well received by Ferdinand and Isabella; and to have made his case good against all his maligners. It was long, however, before he was able to return to Hispaniola with such an armament as he required. Meanwhile, about ten months after his arrival, he managed to send out two ships under Peter Fernandez Coronel with such things as were necessary for the colony. The Admiral himself did not leave Spain again until May, 1498.

1496.

Columbus
returns to
Spain.

During the two years that elapsed from the Admiral's leaving Hispaniola in 1496 to his return there in 1498, many things happened on both sides of the Atlantic, which need recording. In 1496 we find, according to Herrera, that three ships

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arrived at Hispaniola, in which Don Bartholomew Columbus sent three hundred slaves back. We are told that he had informed Los Reyes that certain Caciques were killing the Castilians, and that their Highnesses had given orders in reply, that all those who should be found guilty should be sent to Spain. If this meant the common Indians as well as the Caciques, then it seems probable that the question about selling them with a safe conscience was already decided.

1497. In 1497, two very injudicious edicts were published by Los Reyes upon the advice, as we are told, of Columbus; one authorizing the Judges to transport criminals to the Indies; the other giving an indulgence to all those who had committed any crime (with certain exceptions in which heresy, lèse majesté and treason find a place) to go out at their own expense to Hispaniola and to serve for a certain time under the orders of the Admiral.* We cannot wonder that three years after, we find the Admiral saying in his most emphatic manner, "I swear that numbers of men have gone to the Indies who did not

Criminals
encourag-
ed to go to
the Indies.

* Navarrete, Col. Doc. Dip. Núm. cxvi. and cxx.

“deserve water from God or man.”* It is but fair however to mention, that Las Casas, speaking of the colonists who went out under these conditions, says, “I have known some of them in these islands, even of those who had lost their ears, whom I always found sufficiently honest men.”

In 1497, we have letters patent from Los Reyes to the Admiral, authorizing him to grant *repartimientos* of the lands in the Indies to the Spaniards. And it is noticeable that in this document there is no mention of Indians, so that they had not come to form portion of a *repartimiento* at this period. It is a formal legal document, very much after the style of those of the present day, by which the fortunate Spaniard who gets the land is “to have, and to hold, and to possess” and so forth; (*haya e tenga e posea*) and is enabled “to sell and “to give and to present and to traffic with and “to exchange and to pledge and to alienate and “to do with it and in it all that he likes or may “think good.”†

1497.
Reparti-
mientos of
lands in
the Indies.

* “Fago juramento que cantidad de hombres han ido á las Indias que no mereçian el agua para con Dios y con el mundo.” *Navarrete*, Col. vol. 1, p. 271.

† Muñoz mentions that to facilitate emigration to the Indies,

While the things above mentioned were being transacted at the Court of Spain, Don Bartholomew Columbus was doing much in Hispaniola that led to very serious results.

Before the Admiral left the island he had discovered some mines to the southward, and had thought of choosing some port in their vicinity where he might establish a colony. He had spoken about this in his letters to Los Reyes. As he entered the Bay of Cadiz on his return, he met some vessels there, which were bound for Hispaniola, and which contained letters from their Highnesses approving of his suggestion. By these ships, therefore, he sent orders to his brother to make this southern settlement; and the Adelantado, accordingly, proceeded southwards and fixed upon a port at the entrance of the river Ozama. He sent for artisans from Isabella and commenced building a fortress which he called St. Domingo, and which afterwards became the chief place of the island.

St. Domingo
founded.

There was one part of Hispaniola into which the Spaniards had not yet penetrated; it was called

the perpetual possession of the houses which they should build and the lands they should cultivate had been offered to the Spaniards in 1495. *Muñoz, Hist. del. Nuevo-Mundo*, lib. 5, cap. 33.

Xaragua, and was reigned over by a Cacique named Bohechio, whose sister Anacaona, the wife of Canonabó, seems also to have had much authority in those parts. The Adelantado, after seeing the works of St. Domingo commenced, resolved to enter the kingdom of Xaragua, whither he proceeded at the head of 100 men. Arriving at the river Neyba, he found an immense army of Indians drawn up there to oppose his progress. Don Bartholomew, however, made signs to them that his errand was peaceful; and the good natured Indians accepting his proffers of amity, he was conducted some 30 leagues further to the city of Xaragua, where he was received with processions of dancing and singing women, and feasted magnificently. After having been well entertained by these Indians, the Adelantado proceeded to business, and in plain terms demanded tribute of them. Bohechio pleaded that there was no gold in his dominions, to which the Adelantado replied, that he did not wish to impose tribute upon any people except of the natural productions to be found in their country. And it was finally settled that Bohechio should pay tribute in cotton and Caza-bi-bread. He acceded to this agreement very willingly; and the Adelantado and this Cacique parted on the most friendly terms.

Cacique of
Xaragua
agrees to
pay tri-
bute.

Don Bartholomew then returned to Isabella where he found that about 300 men had died from disease, and that there was great dearth of provisions. He distributed the sick men in his fortresses and in the adjacent Indian villages, and afterwards set out on a journey to his new fort of St. Domingo, collecting tribute by the way. In all these rapid and energetic proceedings of the Adelantado, and still more from causes over which he had no control, the Spaniards must have suffered much, and doubtless those complaints on their part which were soon to break out very menacingly, were not unheard at the present time.

If the Spaniards, however, complained of the labours which Don Bartholomew imposed upon them, the Indians complained still more, and far more justly, of the tribute imposed upon them. Several of the minor chiefs, upon this occasion of collecting tribute, complained to the great Cacique Guarionex, and suggested a rising of the Indians. This Cacique seems to have been a peaceful, prudent man, and well aware of the power of the Spaniards. But he now consented to place himself at the head of an insurrection which, however, the Lieutenant Governor, soon made aware of, quelled at once by a battle in which he was victorious over Guarionex, taking him and other principal

persons prisoners. The chief movers of the revolt were put to death ; but Guarionex was delivered up to his people who flocked by thousands to his place of imprisonment, clamouring for his restitution.

About this time messengers came from Bohechio and Anacaona informing the Adelantado that the tribute of that country was ready for him, and he accordingly went to fetch it. During his absence there, and under the less vigorous administration of Don Diego Columbus who had been left at the head of affairs at Isabella, those discontents amongst the Spaniards, which had no doubt been rife for a long time, broke out in a distinct manner. I allude to the well-known insurrection of Roldan, whom the Admiral had left as Chief Justice in the island on his departure. The proceedings between the Chief Justice and the Governor were to form an original to many similar ones to happen hereafter in many colonies even to our own times. It may be imagined that these Columbuses were a hard race to deal with ; and any one observing that the Admiral was very often engaged in disputes and almost always in the right, might conjecture that he was one of those persons who go through life, proving that everybody about them is wrong, and going a great way to make

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them so. This would have been an easy mode of explaining many things, and therefore very welcome to a narrator ; but I cannot say that it seems at all just towards Columbus to saddle upon him any such character. We are to consider the men and the circumstances he had to deal with. Here are men who have come out with very grand expectations, and who find themselves pinched with hunger, having dire storms to encounter, and vast labours to undergo ; who are contained in due bonds by no pressure of society ; who are commanded by a foreigner, or by members of his family, whom they know to have many enemies at court ; who think that Los Reyes themselves can scarcely reach them at this distance ; and who imagine that they have worked themselves out of all law and order, and that they deserve an Alfatia. With such men—(many of them, perhaps, not worthy of water) our Admiral and his brothers had to get useful work of all kinds done ; and did contrive to get vessels navigated, forts built, and some ideas of civilization maintained. But it was hard work at all times : and this Roldan did not furnish the least of the troubles which the Admiral and his brothers had to endure. Roldan, too, if we could hear him, would probably have something to say. He wish-

ed, it appears, to get back again to Spain, as Father Buil and Margarite had done ; and said that a certain caravel which the Governor Don Bartholomew Columbus had built, might be launched for that purpose. This is Ferdinand Columbus's account : and he says that the said caravel could not be launched for want of tackle. He also mentions that Roldan complained of the restless life the Adelantado led them, building forts and towns, and that there was no hope of the Admiral coming back to the colony with supplies. Without going into these squabbles,—and indeed it is very difficult when a quarrel of this kind breaks out, taking it up at the point where it breaks out, to judge it upon that only, seeing the stream of ill-will may have run underground for a long time—suffice it to say that Roldan and his men grow more and more insubordinate ; are not at all quelled by the presence of the Adelantado on his return from Xaragua ; and finally quit Isabella in a body. The Adelantado contrives to keep some men faithful to him, promising them, amongst other things, two slaves each. Negotiations then take place between the Adelantado and Roldan, which we must leave for the present to enter upon the further dealing of Don Bartholomew with the Indians.

Roldan
revolts.

These poor islanders were now harassed both

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Story of
Guarionex
and Maiobanex.

by the rebels and by the loyal Spaniards whom the Adelantado could not venture to curb much, for fear of their going over to the other party. The Indians were also tempted by Roldan to join him, he contending that tribute had been unjustly imposed upon them. From all these difficulties Guarionex makes his escape by flying to the territories of Maiobanex, the Cacique of a long-haired hardy race, who inhabited the hilly country towards Cabron. This flight of Guarionex was a very serious affair, as it threatened the extinction of tribute in that Cacique's territory, and Don Bartholomew accordingly pursued the fugitive Cacique. After some skirmishes with the troops of Maiobanex in which, as usual, the Spaniards are victorious, the Adelantado sends a messenger to Maiobanex telling him that the Spaniards do not seek war with him, but that he must give up the fugitive, otherwise his own territory will be destroyed with fire and sword. Maiobanex replies, "that every one knows that Guarionex is a good man, endowed with all virtue," wherefore he judges him to be worthy of assistance and defence, but that they, the Spaniards, are violent and bad men, and that he will have no commerce nor friendship with them.

Upon receiving this answer, the Adelantado burns several villages and approaches nearer to the

camp of Maiobanex. Fresh negotiations are entered into : Maiobanex convokes an assembly of his people ; and they say that Guarionex ought to be given up, and they curse the day when first he came amongst them. Their noble chief, however, said “ that Guarionex was a good man and deserved well at his hands, for he had given him many royal gifts when he came to him, and had taught him and his wife to join in choral songs and to dance, of which he made no little account and was grateful for : wherefore, he would be party to no treaty to desert Guarionex since he had fled to him, and that he had pledged himself to take care of him : and that he would rather suffer all extremities with him than give detractors a cause for speaking ill, to say that he had delivered up his guest.”* The people being dismissed, Maiobanex informs his guest that he will stand by him to the last.

The fugitive Cacique, however, finding that

* Maiobanexius autem Guarionexium virum esse bonum et de se bene meritum, quod regia illi dona, cùm ad eum veniret, multa præbuisset, uxoremque suam et ipsum chorizare tripudiareque docuisset, quod non parvi faciebat, sibi que curæ esse respondit : propterea se nullo pacto eum, quandoquidem ad se confugerat, et ipse tutandi fidem dederat, deserturum : malleque se extrema omnia cum eo perpeti, quàm obloquendi causam, quòd hospitem tradiderit, detractoribus præbere. *Peter Martyr de rebus Oceanicis*, dec. 1, lib. 7.

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Maiobanex's people seek his life, flies the territory ; but by so doing he is not enabled to save his generous host, who, with his family was surprised and taken ; and Guarionex himself being shortly afterwards captured and put in chains at Fort Concepcion, the two Caciques probably shared the same prison. Thus concludes a story which, if it had been written by some Plutarch, and the names had been more easy to pronounce, might have taken its just place amongst the familiar and household stories which we tell our children to make them imitate great deeds.

1498. We must now pass from the doings of the Adelantado to those of his brother the Admiral. Columbus had at last obtained sufficient supplies for his expedition, and had set forth from Spain with eight ships, the 30th May, 1498. In the course of his voyage he discovered Paria, on the continent of America, and landed at St. Domingo the 30th August, 1498. He found the state of his Colony far from cheering, the defection of Roldan and his followers having put everything in confusion. The Admiral supposed at first that the enmity of Roldan's party was chiefly directed against the Adelantado, and the Admiral hoped that now he had arrived, some agreement would speedily be

Discovery
of the con-
tinent of
America.

concluded with Roldan, of which he might inform Los Reyes by the vessels which he purposed to send back directly to Spain. This was very far, however, from being the case. These vessels, five in number, left the port of St. Domingo bearing no good news of peace and amity amongst the Spaniards, but laden with many hundreds of Indian slaves which were taken in the following manner. Some Cacique, Las Casas conjectures it to have been the Cacique of the vega Real, and it might either allude to Guarionex or his successor, failed to perform the personal services imposed upon him and his people, and fled to the mountains; upon which, orders were given to pursue him, and a large number of slaves were taken and put into these ships. Columbus, in his letters to Los Reyes, goes into an account of the pecuniary advantage that will arise from these slave-dealing transactions, and from the sale of logwood. He estimates that "in the name of the sacred Trinity" there may be sent as many slaves as sale could be found for in Spain, and that the value of the slaves for which there would be a demand, taken at four thousand, and of the logwood, would amount to 40 cuentos (i. e. 40 million maravedis).*

* De aca se pueden con el nombre de la Santa Trinidad enviar

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number of slaves who were sent in these five ships was 600, of which 200 were given to the masters of the vessels in payment of freight. In the course of these same letters, throughout which Columbus speaks after the fashion of a regular slave-dealer, he alludes to the intended adoption, on behalf of private individuals, of a system of exchange of slaves for goods wanted from the mother country. As far as I can make out the proposed transaction, the masters of vessels were to receive slaves from the colonists, were to carry them to Spain, and to pay for their maintenance during the voyage ; were then to allow the Colonists so much money payable at Seville, in proportion to the number of slaves brought over. This money they would expend according to the orders of the Colonists who would thus be able to obtain such goods as they might stand in need of.* The Admiral also sup-

todos los esclavos que se pudiesen vender, y brasil, de los cuales si la informacion que yo truje es cierta, me dicen que se podrán vender cuatro mil, y que á poco valer valoràn veinte cuentos ; y cuatro mil quintales de brasil que pueden valer otro tanto, y el gasto puede aqui ser seis cuentos ; así que á prima az buenos serian cuarenta cuentos si esto saliese así. *Las Casas, Hist. de las Indias. MSS. Primera Parte*, tom. 3, cap. 150.

* Y salieron agora dos ó tres Maestres de navios, que pusieron á la puerta cedulas para quien se quiera obligar á les dar mill y quinientos maravedises en Sevilla, que les llevarán alli tantos esclavos, y les faria la costa, y la paga seria de los dineros que dellos

plicates their Highnesses, that the Spanish Colonists should be allowed to make use of the services of the Indians for a year or two until the Colony should be in a settled state,* a proposal which he did not wait for their Highnesses' authority to carry out, and which led to a new form of the *repartimiento*. But this brings us back to Roldan's story, being closely connected with it.

After great trouble and many compacts, in which mention is more than once made of slaves,† the matter is at last, after two years negotiation, brought to a close. Roldan keeps his Chief-Justiceship: and his friends get lands and slaves. It reminds us of the end of many a long war in the Old World, in which two great powers have been contending against each other, with several small powers on each side, who are either ruined in the course of the war, or sacrificed at the end. The Admiral gives *repar-*

se facasen. Plugó mucho á la gente toda, é yo lo acepte por todos, y les protesto de le dar la carga; y así vernán y traeran bastimentos y cosas que son acá necesarias. *Las Casas, Hist. de las Indias. MSS. Primera Parte*, tom. 3, cap. 155 and 156.

* Suplico á Vuestras Altezas tengan por bien que esta gente se aproveche agora un año ó dos fasta que este negocio esté empie, que ya se endereza. *Las Casas, Hist. de las Indias. MSS. Primera Parte*, tom. 3, cap. 155 and 156.

† *Barcia Hist. del Alm.* cap. 80.

timientos to those followers of Roldan who choose to stay in the island, which the Admiral does in this way. He places under such a Cacique so many thousand "*matas*," (shoots of the Cazabi) or, which came to the same thing, so many thousand "*montones*," (small mounds a foot and a half high and ten or twelve feet round, on each of which a Cazabi shoot was planted) and Columbus orders that the Cacique or his people should work these lands for whomsoever they were assigned to.*

Reparti-
miento en-
larged.

The *repartimiento* has now grown to its second state—not lands only, but lands and the tillage of them. We shall yet find that there is a further step in this matter, before the *repartimiento* assumes its strongest form. It seems, too, that Columbus gave these men slaves also. Others of Roldan's followers, fifteen in number, chose to return to Spain: they received a certain number of slaves, some one, some two, some three; and the Admiral sent them home in two vessels which left the Port of St Domingo at the beginning of October, 1499.

* Y de aqui tomarõ origen los repartimientos, o encomiẽdas de todas las Indias, porque los daua el Almirante por sus cedula, diziẽdo que daua en tal Cacique tãtas mil matas, o montones, que todo es uno, y que aquel Cacique, o sus gentes, labrasen para quien las daua, aquellas tierras. *Herrera*, dec. 1, lib. 3, cap. 16.

On the arrival in Spain of these vessels, the Queen was in the highest degree angered by these proceedings, and said that the Admiral had no authority from her to give her vassals to any one, and commanded proclamations to be made at Seville, Granada and other places, that all persons who had Indians which the Admiral had given them, should send those Indians back to Hispaniola under pain of death, "and that particularly " they should send back those Indians, and not " the others who had before been brought, because " she was informed that they had been taken in " just war."* The former part of this proclamation has been often enough alluded to, and deserves much praise; but from the latter part it is clear that there were some Indians who could justly, according to Isabella, be made slaves. So that by this time at any rate the question had been solved, whether by the learned in the law, Theologians and Canonists, I know not, but in practice, that

* La Reyna Catolica recibió grandissimo enojo, y dixo que el Almirante no tenia su poder para dar a nadie sus vasallos, y mandò pregonar en Seuilla, Granada, y otras partes, que todos los que tuviessen Indios, que les huviesse dado el Almirante, los boluiessen a la Española sopena de muerte, y que particularmête boluiessen estos Indios, y no los otros que antes se avian traydo, porque estava informada, que eran avidos de buena guerra. *Herrera*, dec. 1, lib. 4, cap. 7.

the Indians taken in war could be made slaves. The whole of this transaction is very curious. There is nothing to show that the slaves given to Roldan's followers were made slaves in a different way from those who had been sent over on former occasions both by the Admiral and his brother for the benefit of the Crown. And yet Isabella, who had no tricks of state about her, seems to deal with this particular case as if it were something quite new. It cannot be said that the Crown was favoured; for the question is put upon the legitimacy of the original capture; and to confirm this, there is a letter from Los Reyes to one of their household, from which it may be inferred, though the wording is rather obscure, that they, too, gave up the slaves which had come over for them on this occasion.*

Everybody would be sorry to take away any honour from Isabella; and I wish with all my heart, her proclamation could be proved to have gone quite to the root of the matter; but at any rate it cannot be characterized as a mere blowing of trumpets for injured dignity, if it is not, indeed, altogether a blast of wrath against an outrage to humanity.

* See *Navarrete*, vol. 2, Col. Dip. Num. 134.

To return to the affairs of Hispaniola. Columbus had now settled the Roldan revolt and other smaller ones; he had now, too, reduced the Indians into subjection; the mines were prospering; the Indians were to be brought together in populous villages, that so they might better be taught the Christian Faith, and serve as Vassals to the Crown of Castile; the royal revenues (always a matter of much concern to Columbus) would, he thought, in three years amount to sixty millions of reals; and now there was time for him to sit down, and meditate upon the rebuilding of the temple of Jerusalem, or the conversion of Cathay.* If there had been any prolonged quiet, such things are what he would probably have begun to think about. But he had hardly more than a month of repose, or joy,

The fortunes of Columbus culminate

* David en su testamento dejó tres mil quintales de oro de las Indias á Salomon para ayuda de edificar el templo, y segun Josefo era el destas mismas tierras. Hierusalem y el monte Sion ha de ser reedificado por mano de cristianos: quien ha de ser, Dios por boca del Profeta en el décimo cuarto salmo lo dice. El Abad Joaquin dijo que este habia de salir de España. San Gerónimo á la santa mujer le mostró el camino para ello. El Emperador del Catayo ha dias que mandó sabios que le enseñen en la fé de Cristo. ¿Quién será que se ofrezca á esto? Si nuestro Señor me lleva á España, yo me obligo de llevarle, con el nombre de Dios, en salvo. *Navarrete*, Col. vol. 1, p. 309.

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when that evil came down upon him, which, in the words of our excellent historian Muñoz, poured the juice of aloes into the remaining days of his life.*

Los Reyes, I contend, had upon the whole, hitherto, behaved well to Columbus. He had bitter enemies at Court. People were for ever dinning into the ears of Los Reyes that this foreigner was doing wrong. The Admiral's son Ferdinand gives us a vivid picture of this. He says " when I was at Granada at the time the
" most serene prince Don Miguel died, more
" than fifty of them, (Spaniards who had returned
" from the Indies) as men without shame, bought
" a great quantity of grapes, and sat themselves
" down in the Court of the Alhambra, uttering
" loud cries, saying, that their Highnesses and the
" Admiral made them live in this poor fashion on
" account of the bad pay they received, with
" many other dishonest and unseemly things,
" which they kept repeating. Such was their
" effrontery, that when the Catholic King came

* Entonces vino el golpe fatal que acabó todos los días de su vida. *Muñoz, Hist. del Nuevo Mundo*, lib. 6, cap. 57.

These are the last printed words of Muñoz's history: there is more in manuscript which surely some good Spaniard ought to see to the printing of, forthwith.

“ forth they all furrounded him, and got him
“ into the midft of them, faying, ‘ Pay ! Pay !’
“ and if by chance I and my brother who were
“ pages to the moft ferene Queen happened to
“ pafs where they were, they shouted to the very
“ heavens faying, ‘ Look at the fons of the Ad-
“ miral of Mosquito-land, of that man who has
“ difcovered the lands of deceit and difappoint-
“ ment, a place of fepulchre and wretchednefs to
“ Spanifh hidalgos:’ adding many other infulting
“ expreffions, on which account we excufed our-
“ felves from paffing by them.”*

Unjuft clamour, like the above, would not, alone, have turned the hearts of the Catholic Sovereigns againft Columbus ; but this clamour was not unfupported by ferious grounds for dif-fatisfaction in the ftate and profpects of the colony : and when there is a conftant ftream of en-mity and prejudice againft a man, his conduct, or his fortune, will fome day give good way for it to rufh in upon him. However this may be, foon after the return of the five veffels from St. Domingo, mentioned above, which firft told the news of the Roldan revolt, and which brought

* *Barcia, Hift. del Almirante*, cap. LXXXV.

back the first Indian slaves to Spain, Los Reyes appear to have taken into serious consideration the question of suspending Columbus. He had, himself, in the letters sent over in these ships requested that some one might be sent to conduct the affairs of justice in the Colony; but if Ferdinand and Isabella began by merely looking out for such an officer, they ended in resolving to send one who should take the civil as well as judicial authority into his hands. This determination was not, however, acted upon hastily. On the 21st of March, 1499, they give commission to Francis de Bobadilla "to ascertain what persons have raised themselves against Justice in the island of Hispaniola, and to proceed against them according to law."* On the 21st of May, 1499, they confer upon him the Government, and sign an order that all arms and fortresses in the Indies should be given up to him.† On the 26th of the same month, they give him the following remarkable letter to Columbus.

"Don Christopher Columbus our Admiral of the Ocean: We have commanded the Comendador Francis de Bobadilla, the bearer of this, that he

* Navarrete, Col. Doc. Dip. vol. 2. Núm. CXXVII.

† Ibid. vol. 2. Núm. CXXVIII-IX.

*" talk to you on our part some things which he will
 " tell you: we pray you give him faith and cre-
 " dence, and act accordingly.**

" I THE KING, I THE QUEEN.

" By their command.

" MIGUEL PEREZ DE ALMAZAN."

Bobadilla, however, was not sent from Spain until the beginning of July, 1500, and did not make his appearance in Hispaniola till the 23rd of August of the same year. So their Highnesses must have taken good time before carrying their resolve into execution, and what they meant by it is dubious. Certainly not, that the matter should have been transacted in the way which Bobadilla managed it. It is a great pity they fixed upon a person like Bobadilla. I imagine him to have been such a man as one sometimes sees, who from his narrowness of mind and distinctness of prejudice is supposed to be high-principled and direct in his dealings; and whose untried reputation has great favour with many people: till placed in power some day, he shows that rule requires quite other things than onesidedness in

1500.

Bobadilla
arrives in
Hispanio
la.

* Navarrete, vol. 2, Núm. cxxx.

the ruler ; and is fortunate if he does not acquire that part of renown which consists in notoriety, by committing some colossal blunder, henceforth historical from its largeness.

Columbus
and his
brothers
sent to
Spain in
chains.

The first thing that Bobadilla does on arriving at St. Domingo, is to take possession of the Admiral's house, (the Admiral was at the fort La Concepcion) and he then summons the Admiral, sending him the royal letter. The Admiral and his brother the Adelantado do not attempt resistance : and Bobadilla with a stupid brutality which, I suppose, he took for vigour, puts them in chains and sends them to Spain. There is no doubt that the Castilian population of Hispaniola were rejoiced at Bobadilla's coming, and that they abetted him in all his violence. Accusations came thick against Columbus : " the stones rose " up against him and his brothers," says the Historian Herrera emphatically. The people told how he had made them work, even sick men, at his fortresses, at his house, at the mills, and other buildings ; how he had starved them ; how he had had men whipped for the slightest causes, as for instance, for stealing a peck of wheat when they were dying of hunger. Considering the difficulties he had to deal with, and the scarcity of provisions, many of these accusations, if rightly examined, would probably have not only fallen to the ground,

but would have developed proofs of Columbus's firmness and sagacity as a Governor. Then his accusers go on to other grounds, such as his not having baptized Indians "because he desired slaves rather than Christians:" moreover, that he had entered into war unjustly with the Indians, and that he had made many slaves, in order to send them to Castile. I do not believe that these latter accusations were uttered by a single colonist, unless, perhaps, by some man in religious orders. The probability is, that these accusations came from the other side of the water, and this does give considerable strength to the report, that displeasure of the Court with respect to the Admiral's proceedings against the Indians, had to do with his removal from the Government of the Indies. If so, it speaks largely for the continued admirable intentions of the Spanish Court in this matter.

Poor Columbus! His chains lie upon him very grievously. He insists upon not having them taken off though, unless by Royal command, and will keep them by him ("I always saw them" in his room" says Ferdinand Columbus) and will order that they shall be buried with him. He does not know how many wretched beings will traverse those seas in bonds much worse than his, with no room allowed to them for writing, as was his case,—not even for standing upright; nor

does he fortunately foresee that some of his doings will have furthered all this coming misery. In these chains, however, Columbus is of more interest to us than when in full power as Governor of the Indies; for so it is, that the most infelicitous times of a man's life are those which posterity will look to most, and love him most for. Let this comfort him, for he will think of this too; but happily will find true comfort in those pious thoughts which never desert him.* We have come now to the end of his administration of the Indies. Whatever we may think of his general policy, we cannot but regret his removal at the present time, when there appeared some chance of solidity in his government: though we must honestly admit, I think, that Los Reyes, with the evidence they had before them, were far from wrong in recalling Columbus, had it been done in a manner worthy of his and their greatness.

I do not know that there is much to be said

* "Hope in him who created all men sustains me: his succour was always very speedy. At another time, and not long ago, when I was lower still, he raised me with his divine arm, saying, 'O man of little faith, arise, it is I, be not afraid.'"

La esperanza de aquel que crió á todos me sostiene: su socorro fue siempre muy presto. Otra vez, y no de lejos estando yo mas bajo, me levantó con su brazo divino, diciendo: "ó hombre de poca fé, levántate que yo soy, no hayas miedo." *Navarrete Coleccion*, vol. 1, p. 265.

about the Government of Bobadilla. Ferdinand Columbus makes many dire complaints against this Governor, of his favouritism, covetousness, injustice and mob service; but these accusations coming from that quarter must be received with caution. And, indeed, whatever fault Bobadilla might have had, there is good reason for thinking that he was quite free from anything like personal corruption.

One thing, however, he seems to have done, or permitted, which was most mischievous. Columbus placed a Cacique and his followers on certain lands, and then named certain Spaniards who were to receive the benefit from the tillage of these lands. We find also that he allowed Indians to be taken to work in the mines; but then an especial license was necessary and it was given from such a month to such a month.* This, however, was a considerable extension of the *repartimiento*, and a very evil one for the poor Indians. But Bobadilla seems, if we may trust Charlevoix, to have gone further and to have allowed the Spaniards to treat their Indians as a labour gang, to be taken to work any where and without any restrictions.† He also, according to

Extension
of the re-
partimi-
ento.

* Las Casas, Hist. de las Indias. MSS. lib. 1, cap. 161.

† Il contraignit les Caciques de fournir à chaque Espagnol un

the same authority, numbered the inhabitants of the island and made a distribution of them.

It is very difficult to lay down correct limits and periods for the various extensions of the *repartimiento* as defined by law, still more of what it was made by custom; and we may therefore be wronging Bobadilla in attributing this last extension to him: but we have accounts of the general course of his proceedings which represent him, like the unjust Steward in the Scriptures, though not upon the same motives, bidding the Spaniards under his dominion make as much haste as they could to profit by their present advantages; and making friends for himself by easy treatment of his master's debtors.

His government did not last much more than a year and a half. He was removed in consequence of the just remonstrances of Columbus; and the government was given on the 3rd of September 1501, to Nicholas de Ovando, a knight of the order of Alcantara.

certain nombre de ses sujets, dont ceux-ci se servaient, comme ils auraient pû faire des bêtes de charge; et pour empêcher ces malheureux de pouvoir se soustraire au joug, qu'il venait de leur imposer, il commença par faire un dénombrement de tous les Indulaires, puis il les rédigea par classes, ensuite il les distribua aux habitans, plus ou moins, suivant qu'il voulait gratifier un chacun. De cette sorte toute l'île se trouva réduite sous le plus dur esclavage, qui fut jamais. *Charlevoix, Hist. de. S. Domingue.* lib. 3, p: 205.

CHAPTER V.

OVANDO'S GOVERNMENT, AND THE EVENTS
CONNECTED WITH IT.

IN considering history, nothing is more curious to reflect upon than the chance way, as it seems to us, in which the particular actors come before us. These Indians, for instance, whom we have met with in the course of this narrative, will always have a certain place in history; and how strange it is to find them there. For centuries, many such as Guacanagari and many such as Caonabó had shot off their puny arrows, smoked their long pipes, and gone down to the shades of their forefathers "unwept, unhonoured and unsung," at least by Europeans: when, suddenly, amongst the listless threads of Indian affairs is plied the busy shuttle of European enterprize, till they come out woven into something like historical tapestry; and the relationships and alliances of petty Caciques become part of a story which I think, if it be moderately well told, the world will always listen to.

Now, if we men had the making of history, we should, I suppose, choose to have the game played by the best pieces on the board: but how much more interesting it is after all, that history embraces almost every variety of human character as well as of human circumstance. There is no class or kind of person, for example, to whom supreme power has not been entrusted. The real king, the good sort of man, the utter sensualist, the mere soldier, the intriguer, the idiot, the madman, have all been crowned: nor, in our own times, have we been without instances of most unlikely persons being suddenly called to supreme power, to see what they could make of it.

In our present narrative nothing can be more abrupt than the change from Columbus to the two governors who succeeded him: both soldier-monks, probably with a certain narrow way of looking at things incident to their profession, and with no especial culture that I know of; while he was of various accomplishments, large-minded, enthusiastic, fluent, affectionate, inventive.

In choosing Ovando, however, Los Reyes seem this time to have taken great pains to provide a worthy governor for the Indies. With regard to his personal appearance, we are told, that he was of moderate stature, and had a

vermilion-coloured beard, which fact hardly conveys much to our minds, but it is added in general terms that his preference expressed authority : with regard to his mental qualifications, we learn that he was a friend to justice, an honourable person both in words and deeds, and that he held all avarice and covetousness in much aversion. He was humble too, they say ; and when he was appointed Comendador Mayor of the order of Alcantara he would never allow himself to be addressed by the title of " Lordship," which belonged to that office.

Qualities
of Ovando.

Previous to Ovando's departure from Court, Los Reyes were particular in giving him instructions both verbal and written. Amongst these instructions was one which Isabella especially insisted on : namely, " that all the Indians in Hispaniola should be free from servitude and be unmolested by any one, and that they should live as free vassals governed and protected by justice as were the vassals of Castile."* Like the vassals in Spain the Indians were to pay tribute ; they were also to assist in getting gold, but for this they were to be paid daily wages. Other commands were given at the same time for the

* Herrera, dec. 1, lib. 4, cap. 11. (xi).

conversion of the Indians, and to insure their being treated kindly.

Respecting the general government of the Country, it was arranged that on Ovando's going out, all those who received pay from the Government in the Indies, as well those who had accompanied Bobadilla as those who had come out originally with Columbus, should return to Spain, and a new set to replace them should go out with Ovando. This was done because the major part of these soldiers and officials had necessarily been connected with the late troubles of the Colony, and it would be a good plan to start afresh, as it were. At the same time it was provided that no Jews, Moors or new Converts were to go to the Indies or to be permitted to remain there: but negro slaves "born in the power of "Christians" were to be allowed to pass to the Indies, and the Officers of the royal revenue were to receive the money to be paid for their permits.*

1501.

First mention of negroes going to the Indies.

This is the first notice about negroes going to the Indies. These instructions were given in the year 1501.

* Que se dexassen passar esclavos negros, nacidos en poder de Christianos, y que se recibiesse en cuenta a los oficiales de la Real hazienda, lo q̄ por sus firmas se pagasse. *Herrera*, dec. 1, lib. 4, cap. 12.

On Ovando's arrival in the colony, Bobadilla was to undergo the ordeal of a "*residencia*," a kind of examination well known and constantly practised in Spain, to which authorities were subject on going out of office—a sort of general impeachment. We are glad to find that amongst the orders given to Ovando there are some for the restitution of the Admiral's property and the maintenance of his mercantile rights.

Just before Ovando took leave of the King, he received a formal lecture upon the duties of a governor. The King, the Queen, and the Privy Councillor Antonio de Fonseca were the persons present; and, as I imagine, the latter addressed Ovando on the part of their Highnesses. As it is not often that we have an opportunity of hearing a didactic lecture on the modes and duties of government given in the presence of a great master of that art, and probably looked over, if not prepared, by him, we must enter the Royal Cabinet and hear some part of this discourse.

The first point which Fonseca impresses upon Ovando, is, that before all things, he is to look to what concerns the reverence of God and his worship. Then he is to examine into the life and capacity of the men about him, and to put good men into office; taking care, however, not to

The duties
of a Gov-
ernor.

leave all the authority in the hands of subordinates (here we may well imagine Ferdinand nodded approvingly) to the diminution of his own power, “nor to make them so great that they shall have “occasion to contrive novelties” in order to make themselves greater. But let there be change of authorities, so that many may have a share of profit and honour, and be made skilful in affairs.

That he should use moderation in making repartimientos and tributes, not overtaxing the people, which moderation would be furthered by his taking care that his personal and his household expenses were within due bounds. (Here, I fancy, the monarchs looked at each other, thought of their own frugal way of living, and Isabella smiled.)

That he should not make himself judge in a cause, but let culprits be tried in the ordinary way. Thus he will avoid unpopularity, for “the remembrance of the crime perishes: not so, that “of the punishment.” This aphorism, I think, must have been Ferdinand’s own. His writing is always exceedingly concise and to the purpose.

That he should not listen to talebearers (*parleros*) either of his own household or to those out of it; nor take vengeance upon anybody who had spoken ill of him, it being “an ugly thing to

“ believe that anybody could speak ill of one who
 “ did ill to no one, but good to all.” That it is
 one of the conditions of bad governors, “ moved
 “ therein by their own consciences” to give heed
 to what they hear is said of them and to take ill
 that, which if it had been said, they had better
 not have heard. Rather let injurious sayings be
 overcome by magnanimity.

That it would be good for him to give free
 audience to all, and to hear what they had to say :
 and if their counsel turned out ill, not to look
 coldly upon them for that. The same in war, or
 in anything else : his agents must not have to fear
 punishment for failure nor calumny for success :
 “ for there were many persons who, to avoid the
 “ envy of their superiors, fought rather to lose a
 “ victory than to gain it.” (Here Ferdinand
 ought to have looked a little ashamed, being
 conscious that his own practice by no means came
 up to what he perceives to be noble and wise po-
 licy in the matter, as hereafter notably appeared
 in his treatment of the “ Great Captain.”)

That he (Ovando) should look to what exam-
 ple he gives both in word and deed, Governors
 living as in a theatre in the midst of the world.
 If he does ill, even those who follow him in that
 will not the less esteem him.

That although it is necessary for him to know the life of every one, yet he must not be over-inquisitive about it, or rout up offences which are not brought before him officially. "Since if all offences were looked into, few men, or none, would be without punishment." Besides, for secret faults men may correct themselves: if those faults are made known, and especially if they are overpunished, shame is lost and men give way to their bad impulses.

That he is to encourage those who work and discourage the idle, as the Universal Father does.

That, as regards liberality, he should so conduct himself, that men should not dare to ask him for things which they knew he would have to deny: this would be a great restraint upon them, and a great proof of good reputation in a Governor.

That, in fine, all that had been said consisted in this, that he was to govern as he would be governed: and that "it behoved him to be intent on business, to show courage in difficulties and management in all things, brevity in executing useful determinations, yet not as if carried away by passion, but always upon good counsel; considering much what a charge was upon him, for this thought would be useful to him at all times: and above all things he was to take

“ heed (in order that might not happen to him
 “ which happened to the Admiral)* that when
 “ any occasion for dealing briefly with an offence
 “ occurred, he should have swift recourse to punishment, for in such cases the remedy ought
 “ to be like a thunderbolt.”†

After reading the above, we cannot say that Los Reyes were inattentive to the government of their Indian possessions. It is said by Herrera and Las Casas that the Catholic Sovereigns assigned a duration of two years to Ovando's government; and Charlevoix, in his history of St. Domingo, says that it was their intention at the end of those two years, to reinstate the Admiral. I do not give credit to this; and in the document appointing Ovando, the words are, that he is to be governor as long as it is their Highnesses' will and pleasure.‡ There is a restriction upon him, but it is one that regards the extent of his government and not the duration of it. It is declared that his authority

* This passage is remarkable as it shows the King supposed the Admiral to fail as a Governor from indecisiveness, a very different thing from severity and yet not inconsistent with it. The position of Columbus as a foreigner may account for this want of decision, if the king was right in attributing it to him.

† Herrera, dec. 1, lib. 4, c. 13.

‡ Navarrete, Col. Doc. Dip. vol. 2, p. 255.

is not to extend to the islands where Alonso de Ojeda and Vicente Yañez Pinzon are governing. I have not, hitherto, made mention of these two discoverers, or, indeed, of any others besides the Admiral; being desirous to keep, if possible, to the main current of the history of the New World. If we suffer ourselves to be diverted from that, we shall get into some such perplexity as we should, if we ourselves were navigating without chart in the midst of those West Indian seas thick with shoals and islets. Where the proceedings in respect of any one island will not give us an adequate view of the general policy, we must have recourse to the history of other islands; but, for the present, we follow the fate of the island first settled, and which may be considered as the seat of government in the West Indies, Hispaniola.

At the same time it must not be supposed but that American discovery is spreading out in several directions. Their Highnesses have already made terms with many adventurers whom the fine things brought home from the Indies and the renown that men have gained there, tempt irresistibly to further daring.

1502. On the 13th of February 1502, Nicholas de Ovando leaves the Port of San Lucar to take possession of his new government, having under

him a gallant company of two thousand five hundred persons, a large proportion of them being Hidalgos. He will meet with a terrible storm on his way, and may be very thankful to reach St. Domingo at all, which, however, he will accomplish on the 15th of the ensuing April. Meanwhile, we will take this opportunity, as many perhaps of his company did, to talk over the state and prospects of the royal family of Spain, which materially affect our subject.

Death had made many a sad inroad into the home of Ferdinand and Isabella. They had lost their only son, Prince John, in 1497. Of their four daughters, Isabel had married the heir of the Portuguese throne, and after his death, without children, the next heir. She died in giving birth to a son: and the child died soon afterwards. Juana, the second daughter, was married to Philip, son of Maximilian the Emperor, and had two sons, Charles, afterwards Charles V. and Ferdinand, King of the Romans. Catharine of Aragon, another daughter, was married, as we all know, into the Royal family of England. Then there was Maria who married the widower of her sister Isabel.

Royal
family
Spain.

Juana was now the heiress, and she was "*Juana la loca*"—Juana the insane. Her husband Philip

had lately visited Spain ; but wearied of the Spaniards and probably not less so of his doting and imbecile wife, he had set off again for Flanders. Doubtless all these domestic troubles had saddened the heart and injured the health of Isabella ; and we must not be surprised if at no distant time we have to lose the light of her loving countenance on our Indian affairs. As long, however, as there is any spark of life in her, she will not be wanting to us.

It must be remembered, while we are discussing the affairs of the Royal Family of Spain, that the Kingdom of Castile was essentially separate from that of Aragon, and that on Isabella's death, Castile, and with it the Indies, must go to the helpless Juana and therefore to her husband ;—not to the politic Ferdinand, into whose sagacity for government we have just had some insight from that address of his to Ovando. On every account then the state of the Royal family is a matter of moment to the Indies.

We may also mention at this time, though it is not necessarily connected with our subject, that Columbus was received very graciously by their Highnesses ; was promised to be reinstated in his rights ; and is about to commence his fourth and last voyage of discovery. He is not,

however, to land at St. Domingo for reasons which are obvious.

Nicholas de Ovando arrives at St. Domingo the 15th of April 1502. Las Casas, now in his 28th year, came out in the same fleet; and he tells us that as the vessels neared the shore, the Spanish Colonists ran down to hear the news from home, and to tell their good news exultingly in return, which was, that an extraordinary lump of gold had been found and that certain Indians were in revolt. "I heard it myself," the historian says; and he is right to chronicle the fact, showing as it does the views which prevailed among the settlers, of the advantage of an Indian revolt in furnishing slaves. This great piece of gold which they talked about, had been found accidentally by an Indian woman at the mines, while listlessly moving her rake to and fro in the water one day during dinner time. It contained 3000 pesos worth, equal to 1350000 maravedis, and in the festivities that took place on the occasion, was used as a dish for a roast pig, the miners saying that no king of Castile had ever feasted from a dish of such value. We do not find that the poor Indian woman had any part in the good fortune. Indeed, as Las Casas says, she was fortunate if she had any portion of the meat, not to speak of the dish.

1502

Ovando
arrives
St. Don
go.

Rage for
mining.

Amidst the clamour of such welcome, the new Governor lands, is duly received by the authorities, and commences the affairs of government. He announces the *residencia* of Bobadilla, and takes Roldan prisoner. The people he had brought with him rush off to the mines, knowing nothing of the kind of work, or how the veins ran, or anything about it. Their provisions failed them; fevers seized them; and, in short, more than a thousand of Ovando's two thousand five hundred perished at once in a wretched manner. The only people who had food to traffic with were the three hundred Castilians, old residents as we may call them, and as they had scarcely any clothes, such of the new comers as had clothes, or tools, were enabled to get food for a time. It could not be expected, however, that the food provided by three hundred improvident people would go far amongst two thousand five hundred.

Farmers
thrive.

Here it may be noticed that in general those colonists who devoted themselves to mining remained poor, while the farmers grew rich. When melting-time came, which was at stated intervals of eight months, it often happened that, after the King's dues were paid, and those, who had claims upon the produce for advances already made to the miners, were satisfied, nothing remained for

the miner himself. And so all this blood and toil were not paid for even in money : and many still continued to eat their meals from the same wooden platters they had been accustomed to in the old country, only with discontented minds and souls beginning to be embruted by cruelty.

While Ovando is doing what he can in the troubles that met him at the outset of his administration, Columbus suddenly appears again upon the scene—thoroughly unwelcome no doubt to the new Governor. One of Columbus's vessels wants refitting, and he wishes to change her for another in the fleet ; moreover, as he informs Ovando, he desires to enter the port of St. Domingo, because he foresees that a hurricane is coming on. The landsman Ovando perceives nothing of the kind ; and is only anxious to get Columbus away as soon as he can, and thus to obey the orders received from their Highnesses, which were that Columbus should not land at St. Domingo. Besides, Bobadilla is not yet gone, and Roldan and his faction are there, so there is no knowing what tumult might arise if Columbus were permitted to land. In fine, Ovando stands upon the orders he had received, and very wisely, as it appears to me, with his lights, refuses to allow Columbus to enter the harbour. That

Ovando put no faith in the great navigator's prophecy about the coming hurricane, is manifest, because he sent away at that moment the return fleet to Spain. Columbus made as quickly as he could for some safe anchorage. The hurricane did come on and raged furiously. The greater part of the return fleet sank. Bobadilla perished, Roldan perished, and there was a grand clearance made of the enemies of Columbus. Amongst the few vessels that escaped was a lumbering one, the worst in the fleet it is said, which was taking back the goods of Columbus to Spain. The men of that day saw in this the especial hand of Providence.

This same hurricane did great damage to the town of St. Domingo, and the Governor took occasion to change the site of the town to the other side of the river where it now stands. About this time, too, he bestirred himself in founding settlements. The first that he resolved to found was on the North of the island, at the Puerto de Plata, one of his reasons for founding a settlement there being the great multitude of Indians in that part :* so that at any rate at that time Hispaniola

* Por la mucha multitud de Indios que en ella avia. *Herrera*, dec. 1, lib. 5, cap 4.

See also Columbus's letter to the pope, anno 1502.

was not depopulated. The expedition, in their way to Puerto de Plata, had occasion to touch at or near the island of Saona, the very spot which the colonists alluded to, when coming down to the shore to welcome the Governor, they had joyfully exclaimed that the Indians were in revolt. The cause of this must now be told. Between the inhabitants of the little island of Saona and the Spaniards there had originally been much friendship. These Indians had been in the habit of supplying their new friends with bread; and on one occasion lately, a Spanish party had been sent to the island to get bread there. The Cacique of the place, with a stick in his hand, was urging his men and hastening the preparations. The Spaniards were looking on: one of them had his dog with him, and the dog was wild to get at the Cacique. The Spaniard could hardly hold in the dog; and, unfortunately, happened to remark to a comrade standing by him, "what a thing it would be "if we were to set the dog at him." His friend in jest said "at him" (*tomalo*) thinking that the Spaniard could certainly restrain the dog. The dog, with this encouragement, burst from his master, rushed on the Cacique, and killed him in a manner hideous to think of. The adjacent province rose in arms: and it was no wonder therefore

Origin of
the revolt
in Higüey

that when the mariners, whom Ovando sent to found his new colony of Puerto de Plata, touched at a spot near to where the above transaction took place, the natives should have considered them as invaders and have attacked them accordingly. In the conflict that ensued nine Spaniards were killed, and the news of their slaughter being brought to the Governor, he ordered war to be declared,—war, according to the phrase of the time, “of fire and blood.” From all the Spanish citadels forces were sent under various captains, and Juan de Esquivel was named Captain-general of the force, which amounted to four hundred men. On the arrival of this body in Higüey, the province of Hispaniola adjacent to the island of Saona, and which had been concerned in the original revolt, the Indians seem to have behaved with sufficient bravery; but finding that their naked bodies and childish weapons could in no way compete with well-clad, well-armed men, they soon abandoned open fighting and fled to the mountains. From a war it degenerated into a hunt. Many of the Indians who were taken had both their hands cut off, and were told by the Spaniards to carry those letters to their lords, i. e. to show what mutilation they had suffered, that it might inspire general terror. Nor was it only by

twos or threes that they suffered : on one occasion six or seven hundred prisoners were put to the sword at once. Harassed in every way the poor Indians at last sought to make terms ; and it was agreed that as a condition of peace they should construct in their territory a great manufactory of Casabi bread for the Spaniards. They were not, however, to be required to come with the bread to St. Domingo, which service they were very glad to avoid.

Higuey
subdued.

Amongst the chiefs who came to do reverence to the Captain-general was Cotubano the principal Cacique of those parts. He was a man of great bodily force and courage, and was so esteemed that the Captain-general did not think it derogatory to exchange names with him. This practice of exchanging names, meant for a sign of perpetual love and amity, was an Indian custom. The persons so exchanging names were called "Guatiaos;" and I imagine the relationship was considered in somewhat of the same light as that of foster brethren amongst the Irish. It shows a degree of refinement which we might not have expected ; but it is not, perhaps, in the affections that civilization finds the most to change and to develop.

The war with the inhabitants of Higuey was thus successfully brought to a close ; welcome

news for Ovando in whose favour it may be noted, that he is said to have given such instructions to the Captain-general as showed that he wished for peace ; though peace was only arrived at through such fearful cruelties.

The Governor's greatest difficulty, at this period of his administration, was to know how to support the Castilian population ; and this difficulty would have been felt still more urgently but for the great mortality we have mentioned, and the return of many men in those vessels which were sent back to Spain in the fleet that perished. The stores which Ovando had brought with him from Spain were now exhausted ; and the Spaniards began to suffer greatly from hunger. They were compelled to eat all manner of uncleanly things. The Indians also suffered from this famine, for they had not put in the usual crops (their suicidal mode, as we have seen before, of getting rid of their Spanish visitors) and in consequence of the famine, it is stated, new diseases made their appearance both amongst the native population and the Spaniards.

Another great difficulty for the Governor was, that the Indians would have little or no communication with the Christians. Ovando stated that this aversion of the Indians was the result of the

Indians
avoid the
Spaniards.

freedom which had been declared for them. But Las Casas with more probability asserts that the Indians never knew anything about this declaration of their freedom ; and that they shunned the Spaniards as naturally as sparrows the sparrowhawk. It is easy to see that this conduct of the Indians would appear to present a great hindrance to their conversion, a circumstance which Ovando did not omit to mention to Los Reyes when he laid the matter before them. He would probably take care also to point out the difficulty of procuring gold, or making prosperous settlements, while the Indians thus stood apart.

The Catholic Sovereigns, in a reply dated the 20th December, 1503, direct Ovando to compel the Indians to have dealings with the Spaniards, and to work for them at such wages as he shall think fit. Los Reyes further order, that the Indians shall work under the guidance of their Caciques ; that they shall go and hear mass and be instructed in the Faith—and that they shall do all these things “ as free persons, for so they are.” Ferdinand and Isabella were great Princes, and very sagacious ones ; but it was beyond their power and their wisdom to combine such orders with freedom for their Indians. Ovando works out the system in this way : he distributes Indians

1503.
Fatal order of Los Reyes.

amongst the Castilians, giving to one man fifty, to another a hundred, and so on ; with a deed that ran thus, " To you, such a one, is given an *encomienda* " of so many Indians with such a Cacique, and " you are to teach them the things of our sacred " Catholic Faith."* The word *encomienda* which will now be more frequently used than *repartimiento*, was a term belonging to the Military Orders, corresponding to our word, commandery, or preceptory ; and this term naturally enough came in with the government in the Indies, of men who held authority in those orders, such as Bobadilla and Ovando. As regards the implied condition of teaching the Indians the " sacred Catholic Faith," it was no more attended to from the first, than any formal clause in a deed which is supposed by the parties concerned to be the mere fringe of the matter ; and, indeed, to be put in chiefly to gratify the lawyers.

Climax of
repartimi-
ento.

We have now come to the climax of the *repartimiento* system. That which Bobadilla did illegally, is now done with proper formalities on parchment : and many a dreary day will intervene

* A vos fulano se os encomiendan tantos Indios, en tal Cacique, y enseñaldes las cosas de nuestra santa Fé Catolica. *Herrera, Hist. de las Indias*, dec. 1, lib. 5, cap. 11.

before the statesmen most anxious for humanity will be able to reduce this gigantic evil in the least. We may notice again that the first *repartimientos* made by Columbus were very different in principle to the *encomiendas* of Ovando, though in practice the two things might ultimately have come to much the same result. Columbus apportioned to any Spaniard, whom he thought fit, such and such lands, to be worked by such a Cacique and his people—a very different procedure to giving men—a feudal system as Muñoz justly calls it, not a system of slavery.

Let no one say that the Indians were to be blamed for keeping away from the Spaniards, or that this aversion of theirs to join their invaders, shewed any inaptness for civilization. Such arguments were of great force in those days, but are worth nothing. These Indians were in the main well off before : and what did the so-called civilization of the Spaniards offer them ? What peace, what love, what beauty or holiness of life did they see amongst the Spaniards that should have tempted any sane Indian to wish to be amongst these new men—especially to take up the part of servants to them ? The civilized man did not then possess those fire-waters which are now so potent in attracting and clearing off the savages adjacent to

the outskirts of civilization. The Indians had already what distraction could be got out of certain herbs and fruits, and were not obliged to go to the Spaniards for those alluring insanities. The implements, drefs and toys of the Spaniards might have had some attraction for the Indians, but surely not enough to conquer their reasonable distaste for Spanish bloodhounds. And as for any inducements which the Spanish religion held out to the Indians, we may judge how far they were understood, or estimated, by the story of Hatuey, Cacique of a part of Cuba, who kept spies at Hispaniola to tell him of the goings on there of the Spaniards. He feared that they would come, as they afterwards did, to his territory; so calling his people together, and recounting the cruelties of the Spaniards, he said that they did all these things for a great lord whom they loved much, which lord he would now show to them. Forthwith he produced a small basket filled with gold. "Here is the lord whom they
 " serve and after whom they go, and, as you
 " have heard, already they are longing to pass
 " over to this place, not pretending more than to
 " seek this lord; wherefore, let us make to him
 " here a festival and dances, so that when they
 " come, he may tell them to do us no harm."*

Idol of the
Christians.

The Indians approved this counsel and danced round the gold till they were exhausted, when the Cacique turned to them and said that they should not keep the god of the Christians anywhere, for were it even in their entrails, it would be torn out, but that they should throw it in the river, that the Christians might not know where it was. "And so," says the account, "they threw it."

There is something so ironical in this story that it almost looks as if it had been intended by some good Dominican as a satire on his parishioners; and it may have crept into history without good warrant. Still we shall probably not be wrong in concluding that the inducements held out either by the religion, or the polity, which the Spaniards exhibited in the Indies were not such as to lead any Indian to give up his freedom willingly and come and live in fellowship with them and their dogs. An impartial observer would have thought much more slightly of the mental powers of the Indians if they had shown this willingness: and he would have pronounced those Indians the wisest

* Veis aqui su señor a este sirven, y tras este andã, y como aueys oydo, ya quieren passar aca, no pretendiendo mas de buscar este señor, y por tanto hagamos le aqui fiesta, y bayles, porque quando vengan, les diga que no nos hagã mal. *Herrera, Hist. de las Indias*, dec. 1, lib. 9, cap. 3.

who betook themselves at once to the remotest and most inaccessible parts of the island, or by war or artifice, strove to the uttermost to get rid of their invaders.

Before Los Reyes had authorized Ovando to give repartimientos of the peaceful Indians of Hispaniola, the monarchs had issued an edict allowing the capture of Cannibals when rebels. In this edict are recounted the steps that had previously been taken on behalf of these Cannibals,—how it had been forbidden to capture them, how some that had been captured had been sent back; yet as they still persevere in their idolatrous and cannibal ways, (*idolatrando y comiendo los dichos Indios*) it is now declared by Isabella that if the Cannibals will not receive her Captains and listen to them in order to be instructed in the Faith, and to be in her service and under her sway, they may be made captives of.* As might be expected, this permission to capture Cannibals led to great abuse.

But we must return to Hispaniola, where worse things than capturing Cannibals are about to take place. Before entering, however, upon that part of Ovando's administration, which it is

* Navarrete, Col. Doc. Dip. vol. 2, p. 414.

impossible not to condemn, we must premise that in his government of the Spaniards he seems to have been exceedingly successful. He fully acted up to Ferdinand's advice of coming down upon malefactors like a thunderbolt. If there were a turbulent person, an incipient Roldan for instance, Ovando would send for him on some fair pretext, just when there happened to be vessels returning to Spain. Then inviting him to dinner, he would talk with him about his neighbours and their estates, and enquire on what terms they lived with each other. The unwary colonist exults in thinking that he is now in high favour with the Governor and likely to have more Indians allotted to him: when suddenly Ovando turns upon him with this question. "In which of those ships (probably visible from where they were sitting) would you like to go to Castile?" The rosy look of a man who thinks he shall get more Indians changes to the paleness of one who is about to be sent home ruined to his friends. He falteringly asks "why, my Lord?" The stern Comendador Mayor answers "You have nothing else to do but to go." "But, my Lord, I have not the wherewithal, not even for my passage." "It shall be my care to provide for that" answers the Governor: and in this summary manner he

Ovando's
mode of
weeding
the Colony.

ships his man off at once, and thus clears the Colony of a possible nuisance.*

Ovando's
dealings
with the
Province
of Xara-
gua.

Ovando's treatment of the Indians was equally swift and immeasurably more severe. The greatest stain upon his administration is his conduct to Anacaona, the Queen of Xaragua. My readers will recollect how well this Indian Queen and her Brother received the Admiral's Brother, Don Bartholomew, on a former occasion. The Spaniards then affirmed her to be a wise woman, of good manners, and pleasant in company; and she is said to have earnestly persuaded her brother to take warning by the fate of her husband Caonabó, and to love and obey the Christians. As she is now to play the hostess again, we may as well turn to the account of her former reception of a Spanish Governor, of which we happen to have some details furnished by Peter Martyr.

After mentioning that the Queen and her brother received the Lieutenant with all courtesy and honour, he says " They brought our
" men to their common hall, into which they
" come together as often as they make any nota-
" ble games or triumphs, as we have said before.
" Here after many dancings, singings, maskings,
" runnings, wrestlings, and other trying of mas-

* Las Casas Hist. de las Indias. MSS. Segunda Parte, cap. 40.

" tries, suddenly there appeared in a large plain
 " near unto the hall, two great armies of men of
 " war, which the King for his pastime had caused
 " to be prepared, as the Spaniards use the play
 " with reeds, which they call ' Juga de Canias.'
 " As the armies drew near together, they assailed The In-
 dian tour-
 nament.
 " the one the other as fiercely, as if mortal ene-
 " mies with their banners spread, should fight for
 " their goods, their lands, their lives, their liberty,
 " their country, their wives and their children, so
 " that within the moment of an hour, four men
 " were slain, and many wounded. The battle
 " also should have continued longer, if the king
 " had not, at the request of our men, caused
 " them to cease." *

At this time, in the year 1503, some of Rol- 1503.
 dan's men were settled in the province of Xara-
 gua; and a troublesome brood they were. Her-
 rera says in a quiet sarcastic way, " they lived in
 " the discipline they had learnt from Roldan,"
 and the governing powers of Xaragua found them
 " intolerable." As might be expected, there were
 constant disturbances between these Spaniards and
 the Indians; and the Spaniards took care to
 round into the Governor's ear that the Indians of

* Dec. 1, lib. 6, Eden's translation.

Xaragua intended to rebel. Perhaps they did so intend. Ovando resolved, after much consultation, to take a journey to Xaragua. We must say for Ovando, that this does not look as if he thought the matter were a light one. Xaragua was seventy leagues from St. Domingo. Ovando set out well accompanied, with 70 horsemen and 300 foot soldiers. Anacaona, who had probably some suspicion, summons all her feudatories around her "to do honour" to the Governor, for she has heard of his coming. She goes out to meet him with a concourse, singing and dancing: just as in former days she had met the Lieutenant. All sorts of pleasures and amusements are provided for the strangers, and probably, Anacaona thought, in her innocent way, that she had quite soothed and pleased this severe-looking Governor as she had the last. But these former followers of Roldan were about the Governor, telling him that there certainly was an insurrection at hand, that if he did not look to it now, and suppress it at once, the revolt would be far more difficult to quell when it did break out. Thus they argued, using all those seemingly wise arguments of wickedness which from time immemorial have commenced and perpetuated treachery. Ovando listens to these men, indeed must have been much in-

clined to believe them, or he would hardly have come all this way. He is now convinced that an insurrection is intended.

With these thoughts in his mind, he ordered that, on a certain Sunday after dinner, all the cavalry should get to horse on the pretext of a tournament. The infantry, too, he caused to be ready for action. He himself, a Tiberius in dissembling, goes to play at quoits and is disturbed by his men coming to him and begging him to look on at their sports. Poor Anacaona absolutely jumps into the trap prepared for her. She tells the Governor that her Caciques, too, would like to see this tournament, upon which, with demonstrations of pleasure, he bade her come with all her Caciques to his lodgings, for he wanted to talk to them, intimating, as I conjecture, that he would explain the game to them. Meanwhile, he gave his Cavalry orders to surround his lodgings; he placed the Infantry at certain points; and told his men that when, in talking with the Caciques, he should put his hand in his scarf (the thing from which probably hung his Alcantara order of knighthood,) they should rush in and bind the Caciques and Anacaona. It fell out as he had planned. All these deluded Indian chiefs and their Queen were secured; she

Ovando's
tourna-
ment.

alone was led out of the lodgings which were then set fire to, and all the chiefs burnt alive. Anacaona was afterwards hanged and the province was desolated.

Humanity does not gain much after all by this man's not taking the title of " Lordship," which he had a right to.

Finally, the Governor collects the Roldanites of Xaragua into a town there and calls it " the city of the true peace " (*La villa de la vera Paz*) which a modern Chronicler well says might more properly have been named " Aceldama, the field " of blood."* I observe that the arms assigned to this new settlement are a dove with the olive branch, a rainbow and a cross.

The next occasion Ovando had to chastise the Indians was upon another outbreak in the province of Higüey,—that province which we have seen reduced to obedience by Juan de Esquivel. The Indians of this district had agreed to make bread for the Spaniards, but not to carry it to St. Domingo. This was now endeavoured to be imposed upon them. Las Casas is convinced from his experience, that the conduct of the little garrison which had been left in Higüey was disorderly and licentious, according to the usual fashion of

Higüey
gain in
:volt.

* Captain Southey, *Hist. of the West Indies*, vol. 1, p. 93.

the invaders. The result was, that the Indians rose and attacked the fort, burnt it, and put to death the garrison with the exception of one who escaped to tell the news. The Governor instantly proclaimed war, and gave Juan de Esquivel the command. The war was carried on in the accustomed way, as regards the unavailing efforts of the Indians, and with more than the accustomed ferocity on the part of the conquering Spaniards. There were some signal instances of valour shown by the Indians. On one occasion, where Las Casas was an eye-witness, a naked Indian with only his bow and arrows maintained, unhurt, a close contest with a well-armed Spaniard, to the admiration of both armies standing aloof to behold the engagement. The Indians, however, found their chief safety in flight; and it is recorded that those whom the Spaniards compelled to act as guides and whom they kept attached to them by ropes, often threw themselves off the precipices and thus balked their masters. Unfortunately, amongst the Spaniards themselves, were men who had become quite skilful in tracking Indians; so much so, that from the turn of a withered leaf, they could detect which way a party had gone of those they hunted after. The cruelty wreaked by the Spaniards upon their captives was excessive. They used the same mode

Barbari-
ies in Hi-
guay.

of sending terror amongst the Indians which had been adopted in the former war ; namely, cutting off the hands of their captives. Las Casas mentions that on one occasion they hanged up thirteen Indians " in honour and reverence of Christ our " Lord and his twelve Apostles." These men hanging at such a height that their feet could just touch the ground, were used as dumb figures for the Spaniards to try their swords upon. This hideous cruelty Las Casas says he saw, but at the same time he adds with a shivering which all will feel to be natural, that he fears to relate these things now, hardly being able to persuade himself but that he must have dreamt them. On another occasion he saw some Indians being burnt alive in a sort of wooden cradle. Their cries disturbed the Spanish Captain taking his siesta in his tent ; and he bade the Alguazil who had the charge of the execution, to dispatch the captives. This officer, however, only gagged the poor wretches, who thus fulfilled their martyrdom in the way he originally intended for them. " All this I saw " with my bodily mortal eyes,"* emphatically exclaims our witness for the fact.

* Todo esto yo lo vide con mis ojos corporales mortales. *Las Casas, Hist. de las Indias, Segunda Parte, cap. 17.*

And here I must say for Las Casas, that I have not the slightest doubt of the truth of any statement which he thus vouches for. He manifests, throughout, in various little things his accuracy and truthfulness. For instance, he is careful to point out the exact pronunciation of the Indian names. He shows a fair appreciation of those persons he is most bitterly opposed to: as, for example, he says of this Governor Ovando, that he was a man fit to govern, but not Indians—which is much the same conclusion that we shall probably come to ourselves in reviewing his government.

But to return to Higüey. Notwithstanding all the efforts of the Spaniards, Cotubano, the chief Cacique, the same who exchanged names with Juan de Esquivel, remained untaken; and the subjection of the province was therefore considered incomplete. This Cacique had retired to the little island of Saona where he had his spies who watched out for the approach of the Spaniards. One day these spies, two in number, were seized. One was put to death, the other made to serve as a guide. The Spaniards hurried off in different directions, each anxious to distinguish himself in the capture: at last one of them, Juan Lopez Labrador, came suddenly upon twelve

Capture
and death
of Cotu-
bano.

Indians, marching in a line one after another. The Spaniard asked for Cotubano: the Indians said he was the last of the line; and the poor frightened wretches made way for the Spaniard, who dealt a blow with his sword at the Cacique which he received with his hands that were thus cut off, or at least rendered nearly useless. The other Indians fled, and the Spaniard seizing Cotubano by the throat, and with a sword pointed to his body, was carrying him off captive when the Cacique made a sudden spring on one side to avoid the sword; then, maimed as he was, rushed on Labrador, got him down and was on the point of slaying him when a party of Spaniards came to the rescue. They struck Cotubano down senseless, took up their almost lifeless comrade, and afterwards conveyed the Cacique to St. Domingo where he was hanged by order of the Governor.

Higuey was now considered to be at peace, and two settlements were made in it, called Salvaleon and Santa Cruz.

Meanwhile the news of Anacaona's punishment has reached Spain; and we may imagine how wrathful Isabella is on hearing of such things, for, with all her sweetness, she is capable of stern

and fierce thoughts. Ovando, we are told, strove much to justify himself; but the Queen was minded to make "a great demonstration," (these are the very words) and she is reported to have said to the President of the Council, "I will have such a *residencia* taken as never was before."

Nevertheless, Ovando maintained his place, probably on account of the Queen's illness, which began to be severe in August, 1504: and this is the last we shall hear of Isabella in the conduct of the affairs of the Indies. 1504.

It was at this time, late in the year 1504, that Columbus returned to Spain after his fourth voyage, which had proved very disastrous. Poor, old, infirm, he had now to receive intelligence which was to deepen all his evils. He remained at Seville, too unwell to make a journey himself, but sent his son Diego to Court to manage his affairs for him. The complaints of the Admiral that he has no news from Court are quite touching. He says he desires to hear news each hour. Couriers are arriving every day, but none for him: his very hair stands on end to hear things so contrary to what his soul desires.*

Columbus
returns to
Spain after
his last
voyage.

* Muchos correos vienen cada día, y las nuevas acá son tantas y tales que se me encrespan los cabellos todos de las oír tan al revés de lo que mi ánima desea. *Navarrete Colección*, vol. 1, p. 338.

In his paper of instructions to his son of things to be done, the first is, to "commend affection-
 ately, with much devotion," the soul of the Queen to God. Could the poor Indians but have known what a friend to them was dying, one continued wail would have gone up from Hispaniola and all the islands. The dread decree, however, had gone forth; and on the 26th of November, 1504, it was only a prayer for the departed that could be addressed; for the great Queen was no more. If it be permitted to departing spirits to see those places on earth they yearn much after, we might imagine that the soul of Isabella would give "one longing lingering look" to the far West.

Isabella's
 death.

And if so, what did she see there? How different the aspect of things from what governors and officers of all kinds had told her: how different from aught that she had thought of, or commanded! She had said that the Indians were to be free: she would have seen them slaves. She had declared that they were to have spiritual instruction: she would have seen them less instructed than the dogs. She had insisted that they should receive pay: she would have found that all they received was a mockery of wages,

just enough to purchase once, perhaps, in the course of the year, some childish trifles from Castile. She had always ordered kind treatment and proper maintenance for them: she would have seen them literally watching under the tables of their masters, to catch the crumbs which fell there. She would have beheld the Indian labouring at the mine under cruel buffetings, his family neglected, perishing, or enslaved; she would have marked him on his return after eight months of dire toil enter a place which knew him not, or a household that could only sorrow over the gaunt creature who had returned to them, and mingle their sorrows with his; or, still more sad, she would have seen Indians who had been brought from far distant homes, linger at the mines, too hopeless, or too careless, to return.

Turning from what might have been seen by Queen Isabella, had her departing gaze pierced to the outskirts of her dominions, we may note what were her latest provisions in their behoof. Her will, as regards Ferdinand, was to this effect:—she bequeathed the Regency of Castile to him in case of certain specified contingencies; and she left him half the produce of the Indies, and a definite sum charged upon the three military orders—both of these legacies being

limited to his life-time. The following are her words touching the conduct she wished to be pursued to the Indians. After declaring that the ground on which they (the Catholic Sovereigns) had received these kingdoms from the Pope, was to bring the people to Christianity. "Wherefore," she goes on to say, "I very affectionately supplicate my Lord the King, and charge and command my said daughter (Juana) that they act accordingly, and that this (the conversion of the Indians) should be their principal end, and that in it they should have much diligence, and that they should not consent, or give occasion, that the Indians who dwell in those islands or on the Terra-firma, gained, or to be gained, should receive any injury in their persons or goods, but should command that they be well and justly treated. And if the Indians have received any injury, they (the King and her daughter Juana) should remedy it, and look that they do not infringe in any respect that which is enjoined and commanded in the words of the said concession (of the Pope)."*.

Having thus transcribed the injunctions of

Words in
Isabella's
will
touching
the In-
dians.

* For a copy of the will, see Mariana Hist. gen. de España. Valencia 1796, tom. 9, Apendices.

this pious and admirable Princess, we have to return, with somewhat of a foreboding mind, to the history of those poor Indians to whom she meant so kindly.

This bequest of Isabella's of half the revenues of the Indies was not well-advised. We are told that Ferdinand attended more to profit from the Indies than to the preservation of them. This statement is probably much exaggerated; but certainly to leave a portion of the proceeds, for life only, of such an estate, was not the way to ensure its being well administered. Still, it would be laying too much stress upon this bequest, to attribute any very remarkable consequences to it. We are to consider the troubles and confusions which ensued in Spain on Isabella's death, making it almost impossible for Ferdinand, or anybody else, to give the requisite attention to the affairs of the Indies. The story of these troubles is well known, but we may as well briefly recapitulate it. The Castilian nobles did not wish to have Ferdinand for their master. If it was only on account of being tired of his rule, (whether it were good or bad) that was, perhaps, enough. Negotiations ensued between Ferdinand and his son-in-law Philip which led to no amicable result. Ferdinand was nearly successful in procuring a

Changes
in the Go-
vernment
of Spain.

paper signed by Juana constituting him Regent, which being discovered by Philip, he immediately placed his wife in confinement. Ferdinand resolved to marry again, and allied himself to the French king, taking to wife Germaine de Foix, niece of that monarch. Upon this Philip came to terms with Ferdinand; and an agreement was made by which the Regency of Castile was shared between them.

1506. In 1506, Philip came over with Juana to Spain; and, notwithstanding the compact mentioned above, demanded the sole authority over the kingdom which had descended to his wife. A large majority of the Spanish nobles siding with Philip, the old King had to give way; and he went to visit his newly-conquered kingdom of Naples. Philip lived but a short time to enjoy the exercise of his authority; for in three months after gaining possession of the Castilian Crown, he suddenly fell ill at Burgos and died there, the 25th of October, 1506.

Philip
dies.

A few months before, a much more important person in our history had also departed this life. Columbus, since his return from his fourth voyage to the Indies, had done little else than memorialize, and petition, and negotiate, about his rights and his claims. The proverb, "Fear old age,

“ for it does not come alone,” * was especially applicable to him, suffering sickness without elasticity to bear it, poverty with high station and debt, and all the delay of suitorship, not at the beginning, but at the close, of a career. A similar decline of fortune is to be seen in the lives of many men ; of those, too, who have been most adventurous and successful in their prime. Their fortunes grow old and feeble with themselves ; and those clouds which were but white and scattered during the vigour of the day, sink down together stormful and massive, in huge black lines, across the setting sun.

Shortly after the arrival of Philip and his Queen in Spain, Columbus wrote to their highnesses, deploring his not being able to come to them through illness, and saying that, notwithstanding his pitiless disease, (the gout) he could yet do them service the like of which had not been seen.† Perhaps he meant service in the way of good advice touching the administration of the Indies ; perhaps, for he was of an indomitable spirit, that he could yet make more voy-

* Time Senectutem ; non enim sola venit.

† Bien que esta enfermedad me trabaja así agora sin piedad, que yo les puedo aun servir de servicio que no se haya visto su igual. *Navarrete Coleccion*, vol. 3, núm. lxii.

ages of discovery. But there was now only left for him that voyage in which the peasant who has seen but the little district round his home, and the great travellers in thought and deed, are alike to find themselves upon the unknown waters of further life. Looked at in this way, what a great discoverer each of us is to be. But we must not linger too long, even at the deathbed of a hero. Having taken all the sacraments of the church, and uttering as his last words, "*In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum,*" Columbus died, at Valladolid, on Ascension Day, the 20th of May, 1506. His body was carried to Seville and buried in the monastery of Las Cuevas; his remains were afterwards removed to the Cathedral at St. Domingo, and in modern times were taken to the Cathedral at Havannah, where they now are.

1506.
Columbus
dies.

Ferdinand ordered an Epitaph to be inscribed for Columbus at Seville, which tells in the fewest words that he had given a new world to Castile and Leon.

A Castilla y a Leon

Nuevo Mundo dió Colon.

The death of Columbus is the most memorable event which occurred in Spain between the time of Philip's landing and his decease. That

king being dead, there could now be no reasonable opposition to Ferdinand: Juana was quite incompetent; Charles but a boy; and so we have again one of the wariest of monarchs to administer the affairs of Spain and the Indies.

During the interval between Isabella's death in 1504 and the restoration of King Ferdinand to the Regency of Castile in 1506, there are, as may be expected, but few documents relating to the government of the Indies. One letter, however, exists of much importance. Not long after Ovando had come to the government of Hispaniola, we are told that he "solicited that no " negro slaves should be sent to Hispaniola, " for they fled amongst the Indians and taught " them bad customs, and never could be " caught."* We may, therefore, be somewhat astonished at finding a letter from the King to Ovando dated Segovia, 15th of Sept. 1505, of the following tenor. "I will send you more " negro slaves as you request, I think there " may be a hundred. At each time" (I suppose he means at each time of their going to the mines) "a trustworthy person will go with them " who may have some share in the gold they

Ovando does not want negroes in the Indies.

The King will send 100 negroes.

* Herrera, Hist. de las Indias, dec. 1, lib. 5, cap. 12.

“ may collect, and may promise them ease if “ they work well.”† There is some appearance in this of Indians becoming scarce, or being found poor workers. It is also important to notice that negroes, in some numbers, were employed in the Indies much earlier than has been supposed.

We have seen that the troubled state of Spain was one of the causes of the injury to the Indies which took place about this period. Another, doubtless was, that the knowledge of the Queen's death (the Queen having always been a vigorous defender of the natives) removed a wholesome restraint from the Spanish Colonists. Moreover, it must be acknowledged that the evident tendency of such a state of things as the present, even under favourable administration, was downwards — so that even an Isabella at the head of affairs, a true-hearted Columbus as Governor, with a Las Casas ever at his side to plead the cause of the Indians; (had such a concurrence been permitted,) would have had difficulty enough to prevent the present

† Puerto de la Plata.

El Rey a Obando—Segobia 15 de Setiembre de 1505.

Embiare mas esclavos negros como pedis, pienso que sean ciento. En cada vez hira una persona fiable que tenga alguna parte en el oro que cogieren y les prometa alivio si trabajan bien. *M.SS. Coleccion de Muñoz, tomo 90.*

encomienda system from going into great abuse. A total change of system, such as with the experience of centuries we, if we were lookers on, might in this nineteenth century devise, would, perhaps, have averted the mischief; or even such a system as that adopted by the Paraguay Missionaries. But that was not to be, and could hardly be expected. In Ferdinand's Government of the Indies, we shall find many proofs of sagacity; many, too, of anxiety for the welfare of the Indians: and we must be careful not to lay any undue share of blame upon this shrewd Monarch for the deterioration of the Indies which now took place.

One of the first things, however, which he did must have been mischievous; and, indeed, Herrera puts it down as the beginning of the perdition of the island of Hispaniola; though, as we have seen, there was much reason to apprehend that such perdition was impending anyhow, unless a totally new system were adopted.

The troublous and perplexed times in Spain from Isabella's death to Ferdinand's return from Naples to take the Regency, and for some time after, must have made many suitors for royal favour whom it were hard to deny. Ferdinand was not fond of giving, and with the great and costly affairs he was engaged in, seldom had much

to give. Indians, however, were now a sort of money. The courtiers asked for *repartimientos* of Indians—some purposing to go themselves to Hispaniola and push their fortunes there, and others intending merely to farm their Indians out, as absentee proprietors. Ferdinand did not resist these applications; and though the Governor Ovando, probably aware of the mischief, and alive to the inconvenience, remonstrated as much as he dared, especially against absentee proprietors, there were many cases in which he must have been obliged to give way. The mania for gold-finding was now probably at its height;* and the sacrifice of Indian life proportionately great. At the same time that the King is chargeable with furthering this great mischief of giving *repartimientos*, it is to be observed that he was not inattentive to those things which were, or were supposed to be, the true interests of the colony. He promoted discovery; he encouraged the growth of the sugar cane; he urged the building of churches (not too costly); he allowed all his subjects to trade to the Indies; (hitherto it had only been the Sevillians); he looked after the pearl

Courtiers
obtain re-
partimien-
tos.

* 470,000 pesos of gold were found annually.—*Herrera, Hist. de las Indias*, dec. 1, lib. 6, cap. 18.

fisheries; he took Amerigo Vespucci into his service; and in short, like a prudent man, sought to make the most of his estate, furthering humane things when they came in his way. As regards these *repartimientos*, he did not look upon them as final and irrevocable, but only as subsisting during his pleasure.*

As the Indians in Hispaniola were now beginning to grow scarce, the next thing we may expect to find is, that importations will be made from other islands to fill up the vacuum produced by the working at the mines, and by other causes. The first large importation of this kind furnishes us with one of the most affecting narratives in history. Ferdinand was told that the Lucayan islands were full of Indians; and that it would be a very good thing to bring them to Hispaniola "that they might enjoy the preaching" and political customs" which the Indians in

Lucayans
brought to
Hispaniola.

* Valladolid 12 de Noviembre de 1509—Declaracion del poder del Almirante para el repartimiento de Yndios.

Don Ferdinando &c.—A vos el Almirante sabeis que os dirige la cedula siguiente (La va supra, folio 51-52) E por quanto en ella no fue señalado el tiempo que se havian de tener los Yndios repartidos: mando por esta sobre carta que los tengan quanto nuestra merced e voluntad fuere e no mas—Cumplase lo dispuesto en la cedula que va incorporada.—*MSS. Coleccion de Muñoz, tomo 90.*

1509.
Noviembre 12.

Hispaniola enjoyed. " Besides, they might assist in getting gold, and the King be much served." The King gave a licence. The first Spaniards who went to entrap these poor Lucayans did it in a way that brings to mind our English proverb—"feeding a kid in its mother's milk"—for they told these simple people that they had come from the heaven of their ancestors, where these ancestors and all whom the Indians had loved in life were now drinking in the delights of heavenly ease: and these good Spaniards would take the Lucayans in their ships to join their much-loved ancestors, and dearer ones than ancestors who had gone thither.* We may fancy how the more simple amongst them, lone women and those who felt this life to be somewhat dreary, crowded round the ships which were to take them to the regions of the blest. I picture to myself some sad Indian, not without his doubts of these Spanish inducements,

* *Dixeron que yuã de la isla Española á donde las animas de sus padres, y parientes, y de los que bien querian estauan en holgura, y que si querian yr a verlos, los llevarian en aquellos nauios, porque es cosa cierta, que las naciones de todas las Indias creyeron la inmortalidad del alma y que se yuan, muertos los cuerpos, a ciertos lugares deleytosos, adonde ninguna cosa de plazer, y de consuelo les faltava: y en algunas partes crehian, que primero padecian algunas penas por los pecados que en esta vida avian hecho.—Herrera, *Hist. de las Indias*, dec. 1, lib. 7, cap. 3.*

but willing to take the chance of regaining the loved past, and saying like King Arthur to his friend Sir Bedivere upon the shore,

“ I am going a long way
 “ With these thou seest ——— if indeed I go—
 “ (For all my mind is clouded with a doubt)
 “ To the island-valley of Avilion;
 “ Where falls not hail, or rain, or any snow,
 “ Nor ever wind blows loudly; but it lies
 “ Deep-meadow'd, happy, fair with orchard-lawns
 “ And bowery hollows crown'd with summer sea,
 “ Where I will heal me of my grievous wound.”

Alfred Tennyson. Morte d'Arthur, vol. 2, p. 15.

This hideous pretence of the Spaniards did its work; but there were other devices, not mentioned to us, which were afterwards adopted; and the end was, that in five years forty thousand of these deluded Lucayans were carried to Hispaniola. Most men in the course of their lives have rude awakenments which may enable them to form some notion of what it was, to come down from the hope of immediate paradise to working as a slave in a mine. Some lived on in patient despair; others of fiercer nature, refusing sustenance, and flying to dark caves and unfrequented places, poured forth their lives, and we may hope were now, indeed, with the blest. Others of more force and practical energy, “ peradventure the wisest” as Peter Martyr says,

made escape to the northerly parts of Hispaniola, and there with "arms outstretched" towards their Country, lived at least, to drink in the breezes from their native lands. Those lands were now paradise to them.

There is a tree in Hispaniola called the Yaurumá; a large, light, pithy tree. A Lucayan more enterprising than the rest, who had been a carpenter in his own island, cut down one of these Yaurumá trees, hollowed it out, provisioned the hollow part with maize and some calabashes of water; then put the stems of smaller trees across the main trunk; then lashed those stems together with "*bexucos*," which are stringy roots like cords; and filling in well with leaves the interstices between the stems, thus made something of a raft.* He took on board with him another Indian man and a woman, both relations, and having provided themselves with oars, away they paddled, having the North Star for their guide. There is always life in a stout-hearted action though long past; and one feels quite anxious now, as if they still were on that sea, to know what became of them. On they went, day after day, night after night; the loathed Hispaniola had long been out

A desperate voyage homewards.

* Herrera, Hist. de las Indias, dec. 1. lib. 7, cap. 3.

of fight; they had already gone two hundred miles. "Cheer up, sifter Indian, not many mornings will dawn upon us 'ere we see our own dear land again." But what is that black thing in the distance? No land of home—but one of those accursed caravels coming, perhaps, with more Lucayans. It has already seen our raft, and the bold wanderers are again in the power of their adversaries, are again on their hateful way to Hispaniola.

Treasure up all these things, reader: you will afterwards find much controversy as to the capability of these Indians, which question you may be able to solve without Dr. Sepulveda, or Las Casas, or any theologist or statesman whatever.

This Lucayan enormity is one of the last acts mentioned of Ovando's government. Diego Columbus had for some time past been urging the King to give him the rights which he claimed as his father's heir. He was enabled to urge his claim with more effect, having married Maria de Toledo a grand Niece of the King's and Niece of the Duke of Alva. The King allowed Don Diego's cause to be heard in the courts. "Let right be done," as we say here when the sovereign gives permission that a cause against the Crown shall be heard in the courts of law. And right

Don Diego Columbus appointed Governor.

was so far done as to appoint Don Diego Admiral and Governor of the Indies, but "without " prejudice " to the right of either party—that is, I imagine, as to whether the Governorship was to be hereditary in the family of Columbus or not.

The arrival of Don Diego Columbus in Hispaniola closes the administration of Ovando, an administration which received much praise from the Spaniards, even from those who lived under it, who we are told in after years still continued to regret this Governor's departure.

Character of Ovando's Government.

Thinking, however, on what the Indians must have suffered during his time, we cannot look on his administration, as a whole, otherwise than with profound regret and dissatisfaction, though we must not lay the entire blame upon him and make him out to be a monster in human form. The historian of St. Domingo * says it is remarkable that the Governors of the Indies, even those who were noted as good men before, all turned out cruel tyrants. This uniformity might have suggested to the good father the strength of the current of evil into which these men were thrown, and which, perhaps, none but a really great man could have stemmed.

* Father Charlevoix.

To shew the extent of the evil which had taken place in Ovando's time, we can hardly do better than quote a letter of the King's written in May, about two months before the Ovando government ended. "You say," writes the King, "that
 " there are few Indians in this island and that it
 " will be well to bring them from other islands,
 " I now order the Governor that he should provide for the mines as many Indians as may
 " be requisite." *

" Few Indians!" " It is most populous," said the first discoverer. There were twelve hundred thousand souls, declares the ardent Las Casas; and Herrera, not long ago, at the time of the treachery to Anacaona, spoke of the large numbers in her province of Xaragua.

We may well exclaim in indignation, Ovando, and the rest of you Spanish Colonists and authorities, where are these Indians?

I am afraid that, answering what you can for deaths by famine and disease, and which you may put down as unavoidable, there still remains

* Respuesta y despacho al Gobernador y Oficiales de la Española que debían ir antes que el Almirante. Valladolid, 3 de Mayo de 1509. 1509.
 Mayo 3.

Decis que hay pocos Yndios en esta Ysla y será bien traer de otras, ya mando al Gobernador que probea para las minas todos los que sean menester. *M.SS. Coleccion de Muñoz*, tomo 90.

a fearful number of your brethren of whom you cannot say that you were not the keepers. And brethren they were, though then, and it is some excuse for you, you did not think so.

Advocate
for Ovando.

Arraigned before the bar of history, as I have just imagined Ovando to be, we must hear what an advocate would say for him. He would tell us that this Governor did keep order amongst the Spaniards; that he did not enrich himself, needing money even for his passage home; that what property he chanced to have in the island he left for charitable purposes; and that we hear of no private vice in him. Faultless to his order, faithful to his King, complete in panoply of personal virtue, with true Castilian dignity in his demeanour, so that to gain respect he needed not the title of Lordship, which in his humility he would not take—what is there to justify your condemnation of him?

And we on the other side should answer, that that kind of character was not unknown to us which, free from the softer and the weaker vices and vanities, was yet fit to preside over, or countenance, such treachery as that of Xaragua, such cruelties as those in Higuey, such tearings asunder as those in the Lucayan islands. And we should add that he gave up the weak to the oppression

of the strong ; that as these oppressed ones died away, he collected them together again, like a pack of cards,* and dealt them out anew to those whom he favoured, thus mingling folly with cruelty, till nature pronounced against his government by its desolation.

* Las Casas Hist. de las Indias. MSS. Segunda Parte, cap. xiv.

CHAPTER VI.

DON DIEGO COLUMBUS.—THE DOMINICANS.—

THE LAWS OF BURGOS.

IN the midst of the crash of Dynasties, the downfall of Kingdoms, and the wild havoc in great cities which prevails in these unquiet times,* any study of what was done a long while ago, which itself may not be dramatic, or at least, not of the same liveliness as the present proceedings in the world, and which derives most of its importance from the largeness of the result and not from the imposing presence of the means, seems somewhat tame and profitless. And, indeed, in all stirring periods, those engaged in the ordinary affairs of life, still more students, whether readers or writers, feel as if they had, somehow, been left behind; or as a man sitting in a gloomy room confined by ill health or dull business, while at intervals comes in the merry noise of boisterous children playing in the sun.

* A. D. 1848.

But these feelings and fancies are fallacious. Often, the importance of a thing lies altogether in the principle upon which it is done. The mere physical fate of empires, monarchies and pope-doms, much less of mere swarms of thoughtless people, may not be equal in depth and significance to one man's one sin ; nor, on the other hand, is a great example of duty performed, though of a simple character, (as we shall find in this coming chapter of the doings of some poor monks) to be postponed in consideration to the most loud-sounding battle-fields and ever so much frivolous slaughter. You see a similar thing in fiction : an old Greek drama which shall have but one mind brought before you greatly tortured by conflicting passions and duties, presents some picture of the universe to you, throws a sudden light down into the abysses of human misery and madness, and rivets your attention immeasurably more than an ill-told, feebly-following tragedy in which the deaths are as numerous as the perplexed spectator can desire.

Still less is the benefit which may be derived from the study of history to be measured by the noise and pageant of the thing ; but by the examples it affords and the formation of character it gives rise to. Men have not outgrown the aid which history might afford them : duty—political

duty—still requires to be expounded and inculcated ; greatness is not yet fully understood ; and to revert to the image used above, the man who would come down from his dull chamber and play well with those children in the fun, had better have somewhat made up his mind in quiet of what it is well to play at, and what should be the rules of the game.

So let us be content, in the midst of all this tumult, to go on quietly and get the most we can out of a story which will show us what the vain doctrines and desires of men, their cruelty, their piety and their charity, all mingling together, make of the new materials which a so-called “ New World ” affords them.

1509.
Don Diego
arrives
at St. Do-
mingo.

The new Governor Don Diego Columbus and his wife Maria de Toledo arrived at St. Domingo in July 1509. The island had not before been graced by a Spanish lady of her rank ; and the arrival of the new Authorities was honoured by a large assemblage of the Colonists and grand festivities of various kinds. Behind all this scenic representation of greatness, there was, as often happens, but little real power. The Governor did not possess the King's confidence (it is a question whether any Viceroy would have had that) which was chiefly bestowed upon the Treasurer Passa-

monte. There was a correspondence carried on between the King and this officer in cypher, which did not bode Don Diego much good, for Passamonte was a steady enemy of his. And Passamonte was only one out of many enemies to the new Governor both in Hispaniola and in Spain.

Before, however, we begin with the new Governor, let us see what became of Ovando. A *residencia* was held, as usual, upon the late Governor and the two Alcaldes Mayores, which went off well and left no stain upon them. There was no *residencia* in this life, as Las Casas remarks, about the matter of the Indians ; and with regard to the Spaniards, if you could separate their welfare from that of the Indians, it has always been acknowledged that Ovando managed them (the Spaniards) with much vigour and discretion. Indeed, there must have been something good about Ovando. Las Casas, a good judge of character, (a faculty by the way not in the least incompatible with vivacity of nature like his) was evidently attached to Ovando. Would to God, he says, that the final judgment (not man's *residencia*) may have been favourable to him : for " in truth " I loved him, with the exception of those errors " into which he fell through moral blindness." Ovando's
residencia

There is a story of Ovando from which we may, perhaps, infer that he was not deficient in

good-nature to those about him. Some official person had been extravagant and was ruined. Ovando liked the man, and attending at the sale of his effects, contrived to raise the prices so that all the debts were satisfied, every one striving by excessive biddings to please the Governor. Not a very high-minded or correct proceeding this; but still there is a good nature in it we might not have expected from so stern a man. He got home safely to Spain, and was well received by Ferdinand, but died a short time after his arrival. He is said to have written some account of his Government which has not yet reached posterity; but, amongst the treasures which lie hid in Spanish libraries, it may still be found, and will probably throw light upon these times. It would be curious to see what he says of some of the doings at Xaragua and elsewhere. Peace be with him. Happily he was to be judged by one who understood him infinitely better than he could his fellow-men, the Indians.

We turn now to the doings of Don Diego Columbus. The king's instructions to this Governor had been given partly in writing and partly verbally;* and, as regards the Indians, were to

* Herrera, dec. 1, lib. 7, cap. 8.

Navarrete, Coleccion, vol. 2, p. 327.

the following effect: that they should be well treated, being made Christians of, with much management, "little by little, without scandalizing them;" that they should live together in settlements, each of them possessing a cottage and land for himself, which he should not be allowed to part with for less than its just value; that they should have their own magistrates, and be under the government of their Caciques. That, with regard to bringing Indians from other parts to Hispaniola, it might be done, if the Indians in question were Caribs, or had made resistance. That the Indians who worked in the mines should be worked with moderation; and with that view, as the king heard that many of the Indians had died who were brought to Hispaniola, he would, for the first year, demand less tribute for each Indian, that so their masters might demand less work from them.

Ferdinand's instructions to Diego Columbus.

These laws of Ferdinand's are well intentioned, and to a certain extent sagacious; but as they are all subject to the old system of *repartimientos*, we must not hope much from them. It would, perhaps, have astonished Ferdinand if any one had accused him of furthering slavery which he put so many restraints upon; but that one thing alone, the authority to bring Indians from

other parts to Hispaniola, however guarded, was sure to lead to the greatest abuse. Who was to define resistance? Who was to say whether resistance had, or had not, been made?

few re-
artimien-
s again.

Don Diego began by giving *repartimientos* of Indians to himself, his wife, and to those who had royal orders for these gifts; and we hear that the Indians were not treated better in this Governor's time than in Ovando's. They have much more to hope from a vessel which arrives at St. Domingo in the year following, A. D. 1510, honoured in carrying the first Dominican friars who appeared in these lands. In this year, too, we have our earliest notice of Las Casas, who sings the first "new mass" in the Indies.* As from this time forward, his doings will be frequently before us, it will be well to ascertain who and what he is.

1510.

Las Casas,
his parent-
age and
breeding.

Bartholomew Las Casas was the son of Antonio Las Casas one of Columbus's shipmates in his first voyage. Bartholomew was born in 1474. His father became rich and sent him as a student to Salamanca, where he took a licentiate's degree. He came with Ovando to Hispaniola in 1502, was afterwards ordained priest, and now, at the age of 36, has just made his appearance on the stage of history. He was a very notable man:

* Herrera, Dec. 1, lib. 7, cap. 12.

the utmost that friends or enemies, I imagine, could allege against him, was an over-fervent temperament. If we had to arrange the faculties of great men, we should generally, according to our easy-working fancies, combine two characters to make our men of. And, in this case, we should not be sorry, if it might be so, to have a little of the wary Ferdinand nature intermixed with the nobler elements of Las Casas. Considering, however, what great things Las Casas strove after, it is ungracious to dwell the least more than is needful upon any defect or superfluity of his. If he were at any time over-ardent, it was in a cause that might have driven any man charged with it beyond all bounds of prudence in indignation. His ardent nature had the merit of being as constant as it was ardent: he was eloquent, acute, truthful, bold, self sacrificing, pious. We need not do more in praise of such a character than show it in action.

In the whole course of West Indian colonization, a wise and humane forethought never could have been more wanted than now. Hispaniola was rapidly becoming depopulated of Indians; and on the mode of renewing the population we may almost say depended the future destinies of slavery. Ojeda and Nicuesa had started upon their voyages, and though with their own ruin,

were to lay the foundations of the colony at Darien. Velazquez is to go over to Cuba this year; which is in its turn to be the starting point of Hernando Cortes for still wider discovery and conquest. And what are the orders issued at this important and interesting period upon which so much depends? On the 6th of June of this year, the King writes thus " With respect to the doubt
 " about bringing Indians from the island of Trinidad, look well if there is gold there, for you
 " know what the Indians suffer in changing them
 " from one place to another. Perhaps it will be
 " better to make use of them there, but do what
 " may seem best to you; and that more Indians
 " may be brought, proclaim a licence for doing
 " so without paying us the fifth of them: of
 " which we make a present to the inhabitants of
 " Hispaniola and San Juan.

" The conversion of the Indians is the principal foundation of the conquest, that which
 " principally ought to be attended to. So act
 " that the Indians there may increase and not
 " diminish as in Hispaniola."*

This is a most unsatisfactory and vacillating

1511.
 Letter of
 Ferdinand
 on importation of
 Indians.

* " El Rey al Almirante." Sevilla 6 de Junio de 1511. MSS. *Coleccion de Muñoz, tomo 90.*

letter which it is not harsh to construe shortly in this way "Get gold, humanely if you can, but "get gold and here are facilities for you." The king tries to wash his hands of the ill consequences in a letter of the next month, in which he says "take care that our conscience be not burdened "and that the importation of Indians be without "danger to them and to our people. I feel "much the great loss of people (Spanish people) "that Nicuesa and Ojeda have had."*

These are but useless words: how are you to enter a country, take a number of its people and transport them to another place, in any velvet manner? The only thing to be said for the king is, that he was deeply engaged in wars and negotiations at home, and had to meet the expences consequent thereon. These poor Indians could little have conceived how much the troubles in the Italian states concerned them, and were to be paid for by them.

* Tordefillas 25 de Julio de 1511—El Rey al Almirante etc. y Oficiales.

Cerca de la necesidad de traer Yndios porque mueren muchos y no se multiplican he concedido que no se paguen el quinto: pero cuidado en la forma de traerlos que no se cargue nuestra conciencia y sea sin daño dellos y de los nuestros. Siento la gran perdida de gente que han tenido Nicuesa y Ojeda: MSS. Coleccion de Muñoz tomo 90.

That we may better understand the process by which Indians were now acquired, we may turn to a proclamation issued by the very Ojeda mentioned above, and which we are told by Herrera was the form used on similar occasions. "I, "Alonzo de Ojeda, servant of the very high "and powerful kings of Castile and Leon &c. "notify and make known to you the following "things."

Form of
proclama-
tion ad-
dressed to
the In-
dians.

First, the proclamation tells them of the creation of man, and of all men being of one race, but of their having dispersed on account of their large increase, and having formed various provinces and nations. Then it declares how God gave charge of all these nations to one man called St. Peter, that he should be the head of the human race, and have rule over them all, and fix his seat at Rome "as the fittest place for "governing the world." He was called Father, as the Father and Governor of all men. Then the proclamation goes on to say, how all the men of St. Peter's time obeyed him and took him for Lord, as likewise all men have obeyed his successors and will continue to obey them to the end of time. Having now established the Papal Power, the proclamation proceeds to inform the Indians, how a certain Pope gave to the Catholic

Sovereigns all these western islands and this western continent, as appears from certain writings which the Indians are told they may see if they like (*que podeis ver si quisieredes*). Then, they are told how well other islands who have had this notice, have received his Majesty and obeyed him, listening without any resistance or delay to religious men, and becoming Christians, and how kind his Majesty has been to them. "Wherefore I entreat
"and require you" says Ojeda, or any other privateering discoverer, "that after taking due
"time to consider this, you acknowledge the
"church" as sovereign lady of the world and
"the Pope in her name, and His Majesty, in his
"place as Lord of these isles and continent, and
"receive these religious men. If you do, His
"Majesty will greet you with all love and affection and leave you your wives and children
"free, and will give you many privileges and
"exemptions. But if you do not, by the help of
"God I will enter with power into your land and
"will subdue you, and will take your wives and
"children and make slaves of them, and sell them
"as such, and take all your goods and do you
"all the mischief I can, as to Vassals that do not
"obey and will not receive their Lord. And I
"protest that all the death and destruction which

“ may come from this is your fault, and not his
 “ Majesty’s or mine, or that of my men.”*

There is something irresistibly grotesque in this document. How remote and hazy must have been the conceptions of the Indians as to the meaning of the word “ Church ” (not an easy thing to explain at any time or to any people) or of such things as “ privileges ” and “ exemptions ! ” These difficulties would not have been much smoothed either by translation. But we must come to the serious part of the matter. Whenever this proclamation had no effect, and it was scarcely the interest of the proclaimers that it should have, then hostilities commenced, and those who were taken in war (“ *Indios de guerra*,” as they were called) were branded and made slaves, and the fifth part of them given to the King.†

Indians of
 war, how
 made.

If the Government of the Indians resident in Hispaniola had been ever so good at this time, and if there had been such communities as those pictured in the King’s instructions to Don Diego Columbus, still what a great disturbance this per-

* Herrera, Dec. 1, lib. 1, cap. 14.

† “ E quanto toca à esto de la Guerra, no ai mas que decir al
 “ presente, fino que todos los que en la Guerra se tomaron, se her-
 “ raron, i se hicieron Esclavos, de los quales se dió el quinto de
 “ su magestad al Tesorero Baltasar de Mendoça.”—*Barcia Histo-*
riadores Primitivos, vol. 1, p. 159.

petual introduction of slaves would have been to the well-being of the community. But I do not believe that any such communities, as the King speaks of, were formed at all at this time; and that the state of the Indians at peace was most wretched, we shall soon have reason to conclude. Meanwhile, we must turn from the Indians for a short time to the negroes.

Herrera speaks in 1510 of the King having told the Admiral that he had given orders to the Officials at Seville that they should send 50 negroes to work in the mines. We have already seen what the King had before said to Ovando on the same point, and what number of slaves he had sent over. In June 1511 we have a sentence, 1511.
in one of the King's letters to a man of the name of Sampier who held some office in the Colony, Negroes in
the Indies
about the negroes "I do not understand how so many negroes have died, take much care of them."* In October of the same year we have an order from the King to his Officers at Seville ordering them to pay Ledesma, one of the King's pilots, what was his due for the last voyage he had made at the king's command to carry negroes

* Sevilla 21 de Junio de 1511, El Rey à Sampier
... No entiendo como se han muerto tantos negros: Cuidadlos mucho.—*Coleccion de Muñoz, tomo 90.*

to Hispaniola.* I wish the reader to keep these facts in mind. They are mentioned now as they occurred at this period.

Returning to the Indians, we find that concern for them developing itself amongst the Dominican fathers in Hispaniola, which is hereafter to have such root in that brotherhood as almost to become one of the tenets of their faith. Grieved and astonished and terrified must these good fathers have been at all they saw and heard. It was, no doubt, the daily talk at their convent: and at last they resolved to speak out their minds, come what would of it.

These Dominican monks were about twelve or fifteen in number, living under the government of their Vicar, Peter de Cordova. Coming to a new country, they had deepened the severity of their rules, so that it kept pace with the general hardness of living throughout the colony. One of their new rules was, that they would not ask for bread, wine, or oil, except in cases of sickness: and their habitual fare was most scanty and of the

* Burgos 24 de Octubre de 1511 — El Rey á los Oficiales de Sevilla.

Que á Pedro de Ledesma nuestro piloto paguen lo que se les deviere del ultimo viage que por nuestro mandado hizo a llevar negros a la Española. *Coleccion de Muñoz*, tomo 90.

pooreſt deſcription. Being fully intent upon the work they had taken upon them, they would ſoon have comprehended, from their own obſervation, the extent of evil in the ſtate of things about them ; but their inſight into the treatment of the Indians was rapidly enlarged and confirmed by the acquiſition of a new lay-brother. This was a man who had murdered his wife, an Indian woman, and then had fled to the woods, where he remained two years ; but on the arrival of the Dominicans in the iſland, he ſought what refuge from his ſin and his ſorrow could be found under the ſhadow of their order. This man recounted to his brethren the cruelties he had been witneſs of : which narration may have brought them ſooner to the determination they now came to ; namely, to make a ſolemn proteſt, againſt the ways of their countrymen with the Indians.

1511.

The Dominicans try to preach down Indian ſlavery.

The good monks determined that their proteſt ſhould expreſs the general opinion of their body ; and they accordingly agreed upon a diſcourſe to be preached before the inhabitants of St. Domingo, and ſigned their names to it. The fathers reſolved that Brother Antonio Montefino ſhould be the perſon to preach it ; a man, we are told, of great aſperity in reprehending vice. In order to enſure a fit attendance on the occaſion, the monks

took care to let the principal persons of St Domingo know, that some address of a remarkable kind (which concerned them much) was to be made to them, and their attendance was requested. The Sunday came ; Father Antonio ascended the pulpit, and took for his text a portion of the gospel of the day, " I am the voice of one crying " in the wilderness."

Father
Antonio's
sermon.

We have only a short account of the sermon ; but we may imagine that it was an energetic discourse : for indeed, when anybody has anything to say, he can generally say it worthily. And here, instead of nice points of doctrine (over which, and not unreasonably, men can become eloquent, ingenious, wrathful, intense) was an evil uplifting itself before the eyes of all men, and respecting which neither preacher nor hearers could entrench themselves behind generalities. He told them that the sterile desert was an image of the state of their consciences : and then he declared with " very piercing and terrible words" (*palabras muy pungitivas y terribles*) that " the voice" pronounced that they were living in " mortal sin" by reason of their tyranny to these innocent people, the Indians. What authority was there for the imposition of this servitude ? what just ground for these wars ? How could the colonists

rightly insist upon such cruel labours as they did from the Indians; neglecting all care of them both in the things of heaven and those of earth? Such Spaniards had no more chance of salvation than Moors, or Turks.

We shall but put a worthy ending to Father Antonio's sermon, if we conclude with some words from a very renowned preacher on the same subject and a like occasion. "But you will say
"to me, this people, this republic, this state cannot be supported without Indians. Who is to
"bring us a pitcher of water, or a bundle of
"wood? Who is to plant our mandioc? Must
"our wives do it? Must our children do it? In
"the first place, as you will presently see, these
"are not the straits in which I would place you:
"but if necessity and conscience require it, then I
"reply, yes! and I repeat it, yes! you and your
"wives and your children ought to do it! We
"ought to support ourselves with our own hands;
"for better is it, to be supported by the sweat of
"one's own brow than by another's blood. O ye
"riches of Maranhão! What if these mantles
"and cloaks were to be wrung? they would drop
"blood."*

* Vieira's first sermon at St. Luiz. A. D. 1653, quoted in Southey's History of Brazil, vol. 2, p. 479.

I almost hear during the discourse, the occasional clang of arms as men turned angrily about to one another, and vowed that this must not go on any longer. They heard the discourse out, however, and went to dinner. After dinner, the principal persons conferred together for a short time, and then set off for the monastery, to make a fierce remonstrance. When they had come to the monastery, which, from its poor construction, might rather have been called a shed than a monastery, the Vicar, Peter de Cordova, received them and listened to their complaint. They insisted upon seeing the preacher, Father Antonio, declaring that he had preached "delirious things," and that he must make retractation next Sunday. A long parley took place, in the course of which Peter de Cordova told them that the sermon was not the words of one man, but of the whole Dominican community. The angry deputation exclaimed, that if Father Antonio did not unsay what he had said, the monks had better get ready their goods to embark for Spain. "Of a truth, my Lords," replied the Vicar, "that will give us little trouble;" which was true enough, for (as Las Casas tells us) all that the monks possessed,—their books, clothes, and vestments for the mass,—might have gone into

two trunks. At last the colonists went away, upon the understanding that the matter would be touched upon next Sunday, and, as the remonstrants supposed, an ample apology would be offered them.

The next Sunday came: there was no occasion this time to invite anybody to come to church, for all the congregation were anxious to come, rejoicing in being about to hear an apology to themselves from the pulpit. After mass, Father Antonio was again seen walking to the pulpit, and he gave out the text from the 36th chapter of Job, the 3rd verse: "*Repetam scientiam meam a principio et operatorem meum probabo justum.*" Those of his audience who understood Latin, and were persons of any acuteness, perceived immediately what would be the drift of this sermon—no whit less unfavourable to them than the last. And so it was. Father Antonio only repeated his former facts, clenched his former arguments, and insisted upon his former conclusion. Moreover, he added that the Dominicans would not confess any man who made incursions amongst the Indians, and this the colonists might publish, and write to whom they pleased at Castile. The congregation heard Father Antonio out; and this time they did not go to

Father Antonio's second sermon.

the monastery; but they determined to send a complaint to the king, and afterwards to dispatch a Franciscan (monk against monk) to argue their case at Court. Thither the colonists had already sent two agents to plead for having the Indians assigned to them for two or three lives, or in perpetuity.

The Franciscan chosen for this embassy was Alonso de Espinal, and he went out in great favour with the inhabitants of St. Domingo, having all his wants amply provided for. The Dominicans resolved to send their advocate; and found two or three pious persons from whom they contrived to procure the wherewithal for his voyage. Father Antonio, as might be expected, was the monk chosen by the Dominicans.

When the letters from the authorities of St. Domingo, complaining of the contumacious conduct of the Dominicans, reached the King, he sent for the head of their order in Spain, and made much complaint to him of the scandal which had been occasioned in the colony by this preaching. Not long afterwards came the agents from the principal parties themselves; Father Antonio on behalf of the Dominicans, and Father Alonso on behalf of the colonists. The latter

was well received by the people in authority, had free access to the king, and was much favoured by him. Father Antonio, on the contrary, was little friended, found official doors generally closed to him, and porters very peremptory. At last one day, after an ineffectual attempt to persuade some porter, or door-deeper, to admit him to the royal presence, he watches an opportunity while the porter is speaking to some one else, makes a bold rush at the door, passes the obstacle, and finds himself at once in the royal presence, supplicating for an audience. The king spoke kindly to him, and in reply to his request to be heard, answered thus, "Say, Father, what you will." Father Antonio, accordingly, takes out his papers and begins his statement. In the course of it, as an illustration of the cruelty of the Spaniards towards the Indians, he mentions that some Spaniards standing together joking, near a river, one of them took up a little Indian child, of one or two years old, and merely for the fun of the thing, threw it over the heads of the others into the water. He was heard to say, as he turned back and saw the little creature rising once or twice to the surface, "You boil up, little wretch, do you?" (*Bullis, cuerpo de tal, bullis.*)

Father Antonio has an audience of the king.

No one, as far as I know, has ever supposed Ferdinand to be a cruel man; and I should think he would have had an especial dislike to wanton cruelty—to any waste of wickedness. On hearing this story, he exclaimed, “Is this possible?” “Not only possible, but necessary,” replied the Father, “for so the thing happened and cannot (now) be left to be done.”* He means, I suppose, that it has the necessity incident to a past transaction, of having been what it was. Then the monk went on to say, “Did your Highness command such things? I am sure you did not.” “No, by God, nor ever in my life,” replied Ferdinand. Father Antonio then resumed his statement, and the result was, that the King, after having heard it all, declared that he would give orders for the matter to be looked to immediately with diligence. Upon that the monk rose, and, after having kissed the king’s hands, left the royal presence with the consciousness that he had amply justified his boldness.

The king was true to his word, and lost no time in summoning a Junta to consider the matter which Father Antonio had urged upon him.

* antes es necesario, por que pasó así, y no puede dejar de ser hecho. *Las Casas, Hist. Gen.* Tercera Parte, tom. 1, cap. 6.

The Junta was formed partly of persons belonging to the King's Council and partly of new men, chiefly Theologians. This plan of forming a Junta seems by no means a bad way of getting work done for a government ; and the mixture of those who had official experience, and who would have official responsibility, with those who were supposed to be peculiarly cognizant of the principles upon which the legislation in the particular case should proceed, appears a happy device. I cannot say, however, that this Junta showed any great sagacity in dealing with the matter in hand, though, I dare say, their intelligence respecting it was, at the least, not below that of the principal men of their age and country.

A Junta formed to consider the case of the Indians.

Herrera says, that the Junta first considered the question on the ground that the Indians were not free ; and that afterwards Ferdinand resubmitted it to them, ordering them to take as their basis the words of Isabella's will respecting the Indians. It may have been so ; but I find nothing to support this statement ; and am inclined to think that the following account, which is that of Las Casas, is the true one.

He does not speak of any interference on the part of the king with the powers of the Junta ; but merely says that after having had many con-

ferences and heard evidence on both sides, they came to a decision, which may be summed up thus—That the Indians are free; that they should be instructed in the Christian Faith; that they may be ordered to work, but so that their working should not hinder their conversion, and should be such as they could bear; that they should have cottages and land of their own, and time to work it; that they should be made to hold communication with the Christians; and that they should receive wages, not paid in money but in clothes and furniture for their cottages.

decision of
Junta.

These propositions were put in due form and were given to the king as the answer of the Junta; and it was signed by Bishop Fonseca, who had all along had the management of Indian affairs, by Doctor Palacios Rubios, a learned jurist and writer of those days, by the Licentiates Santiago, de Sofa, and Gregorio, and by Thomas Duran, Peter de Covarrubias and Mathias de Paz, who were monks. Several of these persons, afterwards, when they came to understand the question better, favoured the Indians; and it appears that, even at this time, one of them, Mathias de Paz, was not satisfied with the decision of the Junta, for he wrote a work the substance of which was, that the king could not give *enco-*

miendas without the pope's leave, and he pronounced all that had hitherto been done in this matter illegal.

We may conjecture that Father Antonio was not idle during this period. He was still much discountenanced by people in authority, while his opponent Father Alonso, the Franciscan, had free access to the Junta and was made aware of its views and proceedings. The agents for the colonists were very active and no doubt furnished much evidence to show that the Indians were idle, that they had no good polity amongst them, that they shunned the Christians; and in short that if they were not to be savages, they must be slaves. Poor Father Antonio, who no doubt felt he could answer all these statements, how he must have grieved at not being able to obtain a sufficient hearing! At last he resolved upon what will appear a very bold undertaking: he determined to convince his especial adversary, the Franciscan; so, waylaying him as he came out of some monastery of his order in Burgos, Father Antonio told Father Alonso that he wished to talk to him, and thus commenced his address.

“ Have you anything to take out of this life
 “ with you but that ragged robe, full of unmen-
 “ tionable insects, which you carry on your

“shoulders?” This does not seem a winning mode of address to begin with ; but Father Antonio showed more skill in the course of the conversation than would appear probable from the outset. He told the Franciscan that other men were but using him as a tool ; that he was perilling the reward of a life of sanctity in a matter which could not possibly benefit him ; that he was doing the devil’s work without being paid for it even in the devil’s wages. He spoke to him touchingly, upon the treatment of the Indians, and appealed to his own experience as regarded the inhumanity he had witnessed. And, strange to say, the conversation between the two monks ended in the Franciscan being entirely gained over by the Dominican, and putting himself under his guidance ; so that he afterwards gave him information as to what occurred in the junta, which enabled Father Antonio to shape the case for the Indians more skilfully. The colonists, therefore, did not gain much by their spiritual ambassador ; their lay ones, however, as implicated in the result as themselves, were staunch and busy.

On receiving the answer from the Junta, the king’s ministers requested the Junta to draw up a body of laws in conformity with the principles

which they had affirmed in their decision ; but this the Junta was unwilling to do, saying that they had laid down the basis for legislation, and that, with respect to the particular laws which would be requisite, they only had to observe that the more closely such laws could be adapted to this basis the better. Such appears to have been the line taken by the unofficial members of the Junta.

Meanwhile, whether on account of the solicitations of Father Antonio, or on account of the book of Father Mathias, which I imagine was published at this time, the king does not appear to have been satisfied with the principles laid down by the Junta, or at any rate, was willing that the question should be further considered ; for he asked an opinion in writing from the Licentiate Gregorio, who was one of the Junta, and also from Bernardo de Mesa, both of them king's preachers. The king asks an opinion from two of his preachers

It must be noticed that the decision of the Junta, though not expressly mentioning the words *repartimiento*, or *encomienda*, is in substance built upon the reasons which had led to the establishment of these things in Ovando's time.

Returning to the king's Preachers, we find that Bernardo de Mesa's opinion was to this effect, That

Bernardo
de Mefa's
opinion.

especial heed should be taken in converting the Indians; that they were not slaves but vassals; that for "their own good" they must be ruled in some manner of servitude; that they had nothing but personal services to give; that idleness is the mother of all evil; that, finally, the Indians might be given in *encomiendas*,—but not to every Spaniard, only to those who were of good conscience and customs, and who, besides employing the Indians who should be allotted to them, would instruct them in matters of Faith. If the Indians, he said, were to remain under their Caciques, how could they learn the Faith? But while he concluded that it would be right to give the Indians in *encomiendas*, he was for their being well treated, and having regulated tasks allotted to them.

Bernardo de Mefa's opinion is in general well expressed and well reasoned, that is, according to his erroneous facts and limited experience; but there is one dictum of his, which those of us who are islanders may be inclined to question. He says that it would be contradicting the goodness of God to assert that the Indians were not fit to receive the Christian Faith; but that to maintain them in it and to teach them good customs, would be a matter of great labour, for as an insular people, they naturally have less con-

stancy, by reason of the moon being the mistress of the waters.*

The above seems too gross a folly to do anything but laugh at; yet opinions grounded on little better reason, and empty phrases thrown prettily together, and words far too big for the occasion, (so that in the vacant spaces there is ample room for combustibles) are the things which, in all times, have to be translated into various kinds of misery and ruin. A mist of foolish words comes down sometimes, now as then, in a rain of blood.

The other Preacher was of the same mind as Bernardo de Mesa, but carried the conclusion further; for he (Gregorio) maintained that the king might justly inflict slavery upon the Indians for their idolatry — especially such a qualified slavery as that proposed.

Gregorio
opinion.

The opinion of the king's Preachers coinciding with that of the Junta, it was adopted by the King; and nothing remained but to carry it into execution. A set of laws was, therefore, drawn up by certain members of the King's Council, appointed for that purpose, taking as their basis,

* La naturaleza de ellos no consiente tener perseverancia en la virtud, por ser Insulares que naturalmente tienen menos constancia, por ser la Luna Señora de las Aguas. *Las Casas Hist. gen. de las Indias, Tercera Parte*, tom. 1, cap. 9.

that the system of *encomiendas* was to be retained.

In their preamble these legislators pronounce upon the indolence and depravity of the Indians ; and declare that the best thing which can be done at present, is to break up the Indian settlements and to place the Indians in the neighbourhood of the Spaniards : that thus both in body and mind the aborigines will be well cared for.

The laws were to the following effect :—

Food and
lodging
for In-
dians.

The Indians were first to be brought amongst the Spaniards ; all gentle means being used towards the Caciques, to persuade them to come willingly. Then, for every fifty Indians, four Bohios (large huts) should be made by their masters. The Bohios were to be thirty feet in length by fifteen in breadth. Three thousand *montones* (the hillocks which were used to preserve the plants from too much moisture*) of *yuca*, of which they made the cassava bread, two thousand *montones* of yams, with a certain space for growing pimento and a certain number of fowls, were to be assigned for the living of these fifty Indians.

Religious
worship.

Every Spaniard who had an *encomienda* of In-

* The Indians planted their potatoes, also, upon hillocks—a circumstance which may be worth heeding in the present times. See Oviedo, Hist. Gen. lib. 7, cap. 4.

dians was to make some sort of rude building for a chapel ; in it was to be placed an image of the Virgin Mary and a bell. Prayers were to be read morning and evening—the Ave Maria, the Pater Noster, the Credo and the Salve Regina. Besides this chapel for each *encomienda*, there was to be built a church for the general neighbourhood, in which mass was to be said.

By these laws it was settled that the Indians appointed to work at the mines were to stay there five months ; then they were to have forty days for holidays to till their ground in ; then they were to go to the mines for another five months. Certain regulations follow about the food to be given to the Indians working at the mines or on the Spanish farms. Las Casas grows furious in condemning the quantity and quality of this food as being utterly inadequate. Amongst other arrangements, certain little fishes called *sardines* are ordered to be eat on fast-days. Such an order, as Las Casas says, was ridiculous ; for men employed in such labours as the Indians were, would have no time for fishing, and it would have been impossible to bring a sufficient supply of fish from Spain and convey it into the interior of Hispaniola.

Work at
the mines.

The employment of the Indians in the mines is not only encouraged but insisted upon ; for it is

ordered that a third part of each *encomienda*, or if the owner wish it, more than a third part, should be so employed. Those Spaniards who were very distant from the mines (one hundred leagues off) were not to be bound by this law. They might, however, be in partnership with those of their countrymen who lived near the mines. And in practice it came to this: that those who lived near the mines furnished provisions, and those who lived far off brought Indians; so that this exception to the law only added to the misery of the natives.

Wages.

With regard to the wages, it was ordered that one peso of gold should be given annually to each Indian, to provide clothes with.

Then there was a law in favour of women with child.

Vifitors
appointed.

Then followed a law which might have led to important results, but little good came of it. It was that Vifitors should be appointed, two for each Spanish settlement; but these Vifitors were themselves, to have *encomiendas*; and therefore we can hardly expect that their proceedings should be considerate, or even impartial.

The Indian dances were forbidden.

Caciques.

The regulations respecting the Caciques were, that they should have a certain number of their

Indians set apart for their service, (never to exceed fix) and the Cacique with his attendants was to go to whatever Spaniard had the greatest number of that Indian Prince's tribe allotted to him. The Cacique and his attendants were not, however, to be idle, but were to be employed in easy and light services. Poor fellows! to come down from governing a people (which they did after their fashion and not so badly) to looking after fowls!

The above laws were promulgated at Burgos, the 27th of December, 1512. Much cannot be said in praise of their justice, wisdom, or humanity.

Laws of
Burgos.

My readers may recollect that the king, on receiving the complaints from the official persons of St. Domingo against the Dominicans, sent for the Provincial of that order and spoke to him about those sermons of Father Antonio's, doubtless blaming them exceedingly. The Provincial wrote to Peter de Cordova, the head of the Dominicans in St. Domingo; and in consequence of that, or wishing to aid Father Antonio by his presence, Peter de Cordova came over to Spain and presented himself at Court. He was a person of great repute and authority; and when he had read these laws of Burgos and had expressed to the King his dissatisfaction with them, Ferdinand

Peter de
Cordova
comes to
court.

Peter de
Cordova
will not
legislate
for the In-
dians.

said to him "Take upon yourself, then, Father, the charge of remedying them, you will do me a great service therein ; and I will order that what you decide upon shall be adopted." "It is not my profession to meddle in so arduous a matter," the Vicar replied. "I beseech Your Highness, do not command me." And so passed away one of the greatest opportunities of doing good that any man ever had. Those who have taken up a great cause must sacrifice even their reserve and their humility to it—often, perhaps, the hardest thing for a good man to do. And, as to responsibility, any one who is not prepared to take all the responsibility that may come of his moving in any matter, can with difficulty justify his moving at all in it. However, let us say as little as possible against Peter de Cordova, who was a very good man.

As Peter de Cordova would not take the arrangement of the Indian laws upon himself, the King summoned another Junta with two new theologians in it, to see if the laws could be ameliorated. Peter de Cordova assisted at this Council; but did not succeed in doing much, though all that was done, was of very good tendency.

This Junta, in their report suggested certain additions to the laws of Burgos ; namely, that

married women should not be compelled to go and serve with their husbands in the mines or on the farms; that boys and girls under fourteen should not be employed in hard work, but only in matters of household service, and that, till their coming of age, they should be under their parents or appointed guardians.

This Junta also recommended that the unmarried Indian women should work in the company of their parents; and that the laws which applied to the clothing of men should apply to that of women also.

Addition:
to the
laws of
Burgos.

These suggestions, all of which have for their object the cultivation of family ties and of decorum, are good as far as they go, and deserve to be commended. In the course of this report there is a sentence, added probably by Peter de Cordova, or on his remonstrances, which is important in principle, to the effect that if the Indians were to become civilized, then they should be allowed to live by themselves.* However, as Las Casas intimates, if these people had lived to the Day of

* Que por que con el tiempo y la conversacion de los Cristianos se podrian hacer capaces y politicos para vivir por si é por si regirse, se les dió a los que tales se cognosciesen facultad para por si vivir." *Las Casas Hist. de las Indias Tercera Parte*, tom. 1, cap. 18.

Judgment they never would have got their liberty in this way.

The Junta concludes by telling His Highness that these additions being made to the laws of Burgos "his royal conscience will be entirely discharged," and Las Casas says "it is delightful to see how free the King remained from the sins which were committed in the perdition of those people" (the Indians).

The summoning of these Juntas is the first occasion of the grievances of the Indians being brought before the Court of Spain in a public manner; and these laws of Burgos are the first attempt at legislation to remove such grievances. We may naturally make a pause here in the narrative, and pass in review the main events and circumstances of the history up to this time.

1418 to
1512.

At the time of passing these laws of Burgos, nearly a century had elapsed since Prince Henry of Portugal, suddenly resolving upon his first expedition of Discovery, sent out the two gentlemen of his household to get beyond Cape Nam if they could, and to do what mischief to the Moors might come in their way. Since then how changed and how enlarged a world it is! The whole coast line of Africa has been followed out, and the

Results of
discovery
during
this pe-
riod.

way by sea to India ascertained ; the Atlantic has been crossed ; the most important of the West India islands, Hispaniola, Cuba and Jamaica, have been discovered ; nor is the continent of America unknown, though only the margin of a small part of it is yet beginning to be colonized. Navigation, instead of being the childish, timid thing it was, has sprung up at once into full manhood ; and mariners now lose sight of land altogether, and yet go to sleep as fearless as if they were in their own ports. Europe has become acquainted with new plants, new animals, new trees, new men ; and these new things and creatures will not remain mere curiosities for the Old World ; but will henceforth be mixed up with its policy, its wars, its daily and domestic habits, and become part of its nearest anxieties. The finances of great nations and the sustenance of numerous people will depend upon plants which our Spanish discoverers are just now beginning to notice, and are speaking of with an indifference which seems almost wonderful to us who know what a large part these things are to play in the commodities of European life.

As regards the civil history of these new climes of Africa and America, much has already taken place in the course of this first century of modern

discovery, which fixes, if we may say so, the fate of millions of people to come. Already a slave trade is established in Africa; already has the first instance taken place of colonists destroying aborigines (an example hereafter to be so frequently followed); already have the peculiar difficulties attendant upon modern colonization begun to be felt, and the first beginnings been made of state papers, fearful to think of from their number and extent, to regulate the relations between the colony, the mother-country and the original inhabitants.

Other conquests of his century.

Nor, in other departments besides those of conquest and colonization, have the European men of this century been idle. They have invented printing—about the same time that they introduced a negro slave trade; and the two things will have a death battle for many generations. Literature has maintained its revival. Art may be said to have culminated in a century which can boast a Leonardo da Vinci, a Michael Angelo, a Raffaele, and a Titian. The science of international politics has begun, for it was during this period that the policy of European nations became something like what it is now, so that we feel as if we were immediately related to the men of that day, though if we step back a few years

in history, men then seem ancients to us. Taking it altogether, this particular hundred years will only yield as yet to one other century in the annals of the world.

There is never wanting, however, the slave to fit in the chariot at any mortal triumph. And when, with some knowledge of what has taken place since, we look over the proceedings of this century (especially as regards these discoveries and conquests with which we are at present concerned) we almost feel as if nothing had been gained for humanity, so large are the drawbacks. Not that I can believe, and I trust, reader, you think with me, that the world goes on toiling and suffering and aspiring, yet gaining nothing ; or that we are to conclude that the conquests and discoveries of this century were not a furtherance of the intelligence and the worth of mankind. But Ignorance and Evil, even in full flight deal terrible back-handed strokes upon their pursuers.

Human
triumphs
not all
gain.

In the very case before us, in this discovery of the Indies, what do we find ? From want of understanding their fellow-men, from want of comprehending what should be the first objects of colonization, these early discoverers are doing what they can to produce a displacement of human life which will be very mischievous to as remote

a period in the history of the world as we can at all presume to foresee. It is probable that no considerable changes take place even in insect life without affecting us—it may be largely: and what must we expect from abrupt extinctions and introductions of races of mankind in any country; which are so many shocks, as it were, to social nature? What, but troubles and disasters of the direst kind? And such they have proved to be; large in themselves, prolific in their nature, and of vast extent in their operation.

To follow out further the course of these things, till we come to the large and continuous introduction of negro labour into the New World, and to the ultimate settlement of the Indian *encomiendas*, may, I hope, be an endeavour fulfilled in a future volume.

THE END OF VOL. I.



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